2 pts inst we
with pleasing pleasure

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[by Thomas Sprat
Bp of Rochester]

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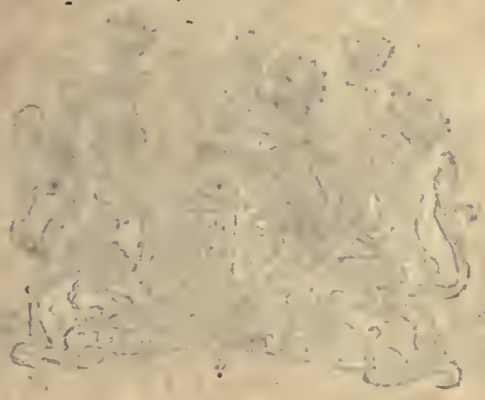

JAMES R.

OUR Will and Pleaſure is, and We do hereby Appoint Thomas Newcomb *One of Our Printers, to Print this* Account and Declaration ; *and that no other Perſon preſume to Print the ſame, as they will anſwer the contrary. Given at Our Court at* Whitehal, *the* 23 *Day of* May 1685. *in the Firſt Year of Our Reign.*

By His Majeſties Command,

SUNDERLAND.

A True ACCOUNT

AND

DECLARATION

OF

The Horrid Conspiracy

Against the Late

KING;

His Present MAJESTY,

AND THE

GOVERNMENT:

As it was Order'd to be Published by His late Majesty.

The Second EDITION.

In the SAVOY:

Printed by *Thomas Newcomb*, One of His Majesties Printers; and are to be sold by *Sam. Lowndes* over-against *Exeter-Change* in the *Strand.* 1685.

A
DECLARATION
OF THE
KING,
His Present MAJESTY,
AND THE
GOVERNMENT:

JAMES R.

JAMES the Second, *By the Grace of God King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas Our Dearest Brother the late King of ever Blessed Memory, gave special Order in His Life-time for Drawing up the following Account and Declaration of the Horrid Conspiracy against His Sacred Person and Ours; and had provided, that the Substance of it should be Impartially Collected out of Original Papers, and unquestionable Records, and was Himself pleased to direct in what Method it should be digested, taking particular Care, that the Truth of the whole*

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Narration should have such Clearness and Strength, as it might deserve to be owned by Himself. Accordingly it was Composed and ready for the Press, when it pleased Almighty God to take that Excellent Prince to his Mercy. And whereas it is but too evident, that the same Hellish Plot is not entirely extinguished, but that divers of the Wicked Actors in it are still carrying on new Contrivances against the Happy Peace of Our Dominions; We cannot but judge it seasonable in this Juncture of Time to have Our Subjects reminded of the Rise, Progress and Mischievous Designs of that desperate Confederacy. To this end, having first Read and Examined this Account and Declaration, that We might be the better able to give Our Royal Testimony, as We do by these Presents, to the Faithfulness and Certainty of the whole Relation, We have caused it to be now Printed and Published. Given at Our Court at *Whitehal*, the 21 day of *May*, 1685. in the First Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesties Command,

SUNDERLAND.

A True ACCOUNT OF THE Horrid Conſpiracy Againſt the Late KING, His Preſent MAJESTY, And the *GOVERNMENT.*

THE KING has thought fit to lay open, and to declare to the World, An Exact Account of the late Accurſed Conſpiracy, which was actually form'd, and carried on in *England*, and ſet on foot in *Scotland*, againſt his own, and his only and deareſt Brothers Life, and againſt the Peaceable and Flouriſhing Government of His Majeſties Kingdoms; as far forth, as hitherto the Particulars of it have come to His Knowledge, by the Voluntary Confeſſions, or undeniable Convictions of divers of the Principal Conſpirators.

By

By thus faithfully repreſenting the plain Matter of Fact, though perhaps all the Groundleſs Suggeſtions, and Malicious Inſinuations of Factious Men, will not be wholly put to ſilence; it being their old, and conſtant Artifice, to ſupport, and incourage their Party, by Impudent Slanders and Falſhoods, againſt the cleareſt Light, and moſt evident Proof: Yet however His Majeſty will have the Satisfaction hereby to confirm the Loyalty, and good Affections of all His loving Subjects at Home, and to eſtabliſh Abroad the Reputation, and Honour of His Royal Juſtice.

And moreover (which His Majeſty moſt of all regards) this Publick, and Laſting Teſtimony will be given of His ſincere Thankfulneſs to Almighty God, for that Miraculous Deliverance from a Danger, which came ſo near His Sacred Perſon, and was ſo far ſpread in the Ruine, it threaten'd to all His People.

It is well known, what miſchievous Arts of late Years have been uſed, and what Treaſonable Courſes taken, to withdraw theſe Nations from their bounden Duty and Allegiance, and to expoſe His Majeſties moſt Juſt, and Merciful Government to Calumny and Contempt: The Rebellious Deſign having been apparently carried on by all ſorts of Male-contents; whom either their Crimes, or Wants, their furious Zeal, or unbounded Ambition, inclined to wiſh for a Diſturbance of the Peace, and Proſperity, which His Majeſties Dominions have ſo long injoy'd, to the Envy of all His Neighbours.

To this wicked purpoſe, many the very ſame fatal Methods and ſpecious Pretences, which, in the

the Days of his Majeſties Glorious Father, had involved theſe Kingdoms in Confuſion and Blood, were once again revived, and by many the very ſame Perſons; Men of crafty, reſtleſs, and implacable Spirits; impenitent after the moſt Gracious Pardons; whom long Experience had made skilful in ſeducing weak, and unſtable Minds, by counterfeiting the plauſible Names of things in themſelves moſt excellent, but moſt dangerous when abuſed; ſuch as Liberty, Property, Conſcience, and Religion.

By theſe wretched Inſtruments, was this moſt gentle, and benign Government again reproached with Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power: The Church of *England* was once more Traduced, as Popiſhly affected: The moſt able Officers, and faithfulleſt Servants of the Crown again Reviled, under the odious Title of Evil Councellours.

In the mean time Sedition and Schiſm were every where promoted; unreaſonable Fears ſuggeſted; vain Suſpicions of future Dangers augmented to deſtroy the preſent Tranquility; deſperate Speeches, infamous Libels, Traiterous Books ſwarm'd in all places; and under colour of the only True Proteſtant, the worſt of all Unchriſtian Principles were put in practiſe; all the old Republican, and Antimonarchical Doctrines, whoſe Effects had formerly prov'd ſo diſmal, were now again as confidently own'd, and aſſerted, as ever they had been during the hotteſt Rage of the late unhappy Troubles.

From theſe Preparations to a new Rebellion, the Party began by degrees to proceed to Action. Diſtinctions of Sides were made: Names, and

Tokens of Separation were given: Illegal Conventicles were maintained, in defiance of the Laws of God, and Man: Tumultuous Feasts, and Factious Clubs were set up in City, and Country: Close, and Seditious Meetings haunted: Frequent Cabals appointed, and by Men of high degree with the lowest: Great Stores of Arms provided by private Persons: Insolent Progresses made through divers Countries; thereby to glory in their Numbers, and to carry far and near the Terrour of their Power, and even to Muster their Party ready for some sudden Blow, or general Insurrection.

All these, and many more such Personal Indignities, and Publick Assaults on the Government, his Majesty long endured with the same Mildness, and Clemency, wherewith he had already forgiven the highest Crimes against himself; His Royal Goodness still patiently expecting, and wishing, that in time the most obstinate of his misguided Subjects would see their Errour, and return at length to a sense of the Duty, they owe him by all the strongest Bands of Nature and Laws, Religion and Gratitude, that can possibly oblige Subjects towards a Soveraign.

But when his Majesty was abundantly convinc'd that all those dark Consultations, and open Tumults of unruly Men, were but so many infallible Signs, and Forerunners of Rebellion, or some extraordinary Commotions; Then at last, in a tender respect to his Peoples Safety, more than to his own, was his Majesty constrain'd to awaken his Authority, to try what good Effect the Vigour of his Laws would have on those Offen-

ders,

ders, with whom all his repeated Mercy and Indulgence had ſo little prevail'd.

Yet ſuch was then his Majeſties hard Fortune, ſo firmly combined were the Diſaffected, eſpecially by their Prevalent Intereſt in packing the Juries of *London* and *Middleſex*, that whilſt his Majeſty carefully endeavour'd to diſtribute Impartial Juſtice to all his Subjects, he could not obtain the ſame Right Himſelf; his Enemies ſtill becoming more numerous, and united in thoſe very places, where their deſperate Enterpriſes againſt the Government, were likely to be moſt ſudden and pernicious.

Amongſt divers other infamous Examples of this Nature, was that of *Colledge* the Joyner. For though the Criminal was ſo mean a Man, and no other ways conſiderable, but for his audacious Forwardneſs in affronting the Government; yet his Majeſty, with all his Royal Authority, could hardly prevail to have him brought to a Fair and Legal Tryal. Nor had his Majeſty been able at laſt to procure ſo much Juſtice to be done, had not the Proceſs been removed into another County, where (the Rulers of the Faction being leſs powerful,) that new and damnable Opinion and Practice of the Lawfulneſs of Equivocating and even of Perjury for the *Good Old Cauſe*, had not prevailed over the old and honeſt Engliſh Principles of Truth and Honour.

However though in the end his Majeſties Juſtice got the better at that time, yet it was defeated in a greater, and more important Inſtance, that of the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*; who had been long and reaſonably ſuſpected, and in the iſſue

was manifeſtly diſcovered to be the chief Author, and ſupreme Manager of all theſe Trayterous Contrivances againſt his Majeſties Crowns and Life.

The ſaid Earl his Majeſty had formerly pardon'd, inrich'd, enobled, and advanc'd to one of the higheſt Stations in the Kingdom; by a long Succeſſion of manifold Bounties, endeavouring to render his Abilities, and Experience in Buſineſs, ſerviceable to his King, and beneficial to his Country.

Yet ſo treacherous and undermining was his Genius; ſo unmeaſurable his Ambition; ſo impatient of quiet, and moderate Courſes; ſo much fitter he was to be the Inſtrument of a Tyrant, than the Servant of a Juſt and Good Prince; that after many hainous Infidelities and Offences committed by him, and forgiven by his Majeſty, he was at length neceſſitated to diſcharge him his Service; yet ſo as to leave him one of the moſt conſiderable Peers in the Kingdom for Title and Eſtate.

But his aſpiring and revengeful Spirit could not brook ſo gentle a diſgrace. Wherefore having deſervedly been diſmiſs'd the Court, he preſently attempted to ſet the Country directly againſt it. Immediately he profeſs'd himſelf the moſt zealous true Proteſtant, and the greateſt Patriot; Thereby ſlily inſinuating his deſigns into the Heads of all Sects and Diviſions in Church and State: To them betraying ſome, vilifying others; maliciouſly interpreting all his Majeſties Counſels; Making thoſe very Conſultations, and reſolutions of State, whereof he had been the chief Adviſer,

ſer, when he was in Power, to be the principal Objections againſt the Government, when he was diſplaced.

Thus he and his Party went boldly on to diſturb the publick quiet, and to affront his Majeſties Authority with the higheſt Inſolence; in Words and Writings defaming it, as Arbitrary and Tyrannical, whilſt in Deeds he inſulted over it, as believing it to be weak, and reſolving to make it deſpicable. And all this with a ſecure confidence not only of Indempnity, but Succeſs; knowing himſelf to be under the Protection of Juries of his own appointment, or approbation; and therefore preſuming he was far out of the reach of his Majeſties juſt Indignation.

And ſo for a time it unhappily proved. For being legally Indicted of Crimes of the higheſt Nature, though the Evidence againſt him was clear and poſitive, ſome of the Witneſſes being the very ſame Men, whoſe Teſtimony had been approved of, in the proſecution of *Oat*'s Plot, and the very Original Draught of a Treaſonable Aſſociation having been actually found in his Cuſtody; yet he could not be brought to a lawful Tryal by his Peers, the Indictment being ſtifled by a ſhameful *Ignoramus*; and that accompanied with ſo much Inſolence, that the very Miniſters of his Majeſties Juſtice were in much more danger than the Criminal, and hardly eſcap'd the rude Aſſaults of his Confederates and Party.

However, from ſo great a Violation of Common Right, and of the Royal Dignity, his Majeſty gain'd this very conſiderable Advantage, That thenceforth he plainly perceived the main Strength

of

of all his Enemies Arrogance lay in their Extravagant Power to pack the City-Juries. For what Treason might not the Earl of *Shaftsbury* securely Project, or *Ferguson* Write, or an Association Act against the Government, whilst *Goodenough*, and a setled Club, was at hand with their Corrupt Pannels, to Indempnifie, and if need were, to second and applaud their most Villanous Practices?

Wherefore his Majesty foreseeing how destructive, in time, the Effects of so great and growing a Mischief would be, resolved at length, after many Intolerable Provocations, to strike at that which he had now found to be the very Root of the Faction.

This his Majesty, and all wise and good Men perceiv'd, could be no other ways done, than first by reducing the Elections of the Sheriffs of *London* to their Antient Order and Rules, that of late were become only a Business of Clamour and Violence: And then to make Inquiry into the Validity of the City-Charter it self; which an ill Party of Men had abused to the Danger, and would have done it to the Destruction of the Government, had they been suffer'd to go on never so little farther uncontroul'd.

In both these most just and necessary Undertakings, the Righteousness of his Majesties Cause met with an answerable Success. First, notwithstanding all the Tumultuous Riots the Factious Party committed, to disturb the peaceable Issue of that Affair; yet the undoubted Right of the Lord Mayor's Nominating the eldest Sheriff, was restored and established: And so the Administra-

tion of Juſtice once more put in a way of being cleared from Partiality and Corruption. And then a due Judgment was obtain'd, by an equal Proceſs of Law, againſt the Charter it ſelf, and its Franchiſes declar'd forfeited to his Majeſty.

But though this happy Event of his Majeſties Controverſie with the diſaffected part of the City of *London*, was in all Humane probability, the only effectual Courſe to provide for the future Peace, and Stability of the Government; yet it had like to have proved a preſent Occaſion of its utter Ruine.

For when ſo many guilty Perſons found, that the great Point of the Sheriffs was reſetled on its Antient Bottom, and the City-Charter it ſelf in hazard of being ſpeedily vacated; ſo that now there would be no farther evaſion for them, by any pretence of Law, to eſcape unpuniſh'd: Then they concluded it was high time to bring their Deviliſh Purpoſes to a quicker iſſue, and once for all to ſtrike boldly at the Heart of the KING and Kingdom.

Particularly the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, being conſcious to himſelf of the blackneſs of his Crimes, and of the Iniquity of the Verdict, by which he had for that time eſcaped; and finding he was now within the compaſs of the Juſtice he had ſo lately fruſtrated and contemn'd, thenceforth gave over all his quieter and more plauſible Arts of Sedition, whereby he proudly bragg'd he ſhould, in time, as his Expreſſion was, *Leiſurely walk his Majeſty out of his Dominions*; and on a ſudden betook himſelf to more precipitate Enterpriſes: Alarming his Companions with a proſpect of their

common

common danger; thence inflaming ſome to Inſurrections, others to Aſſaſſinations; ſuppoſing now there was no way left for him, or them, to juſtifie their former Miſdemeanors and Treaſons, but by attempting and ſucceeding in greater Miſchiefs.

This was found by evident Proof to have been the principal riſe and occaſion of ripening the Horrid Conſpiracy in the Kingdom of *England*. Nor could there poſſibly have happen'd a ſtronger Juſtification of his Majeſties Counſels in attempting to rectifie the City-Juries and Elections; ſince it is apparent his principal Enemies laid ſo much ſtreſs on the unjuſt Power they had therein uſurp'd, that, being once fairly driven from that Strength, they immediately reſolv'd, nothing leſs than a bare-fac'd and avow'd Rebellion could repair the Loſs their Party ſuſtain'd by ſo great a Blow.

As for his Majeſties Kingdom of *Scotland*, it is notorious there has been long ſhelter'd in it a deſperate Faction of furious Zealots, that under the old Profeſſions of the Cauſe of Chriſt, and a purer way of Goſpel-Worſhip, has grown up by degrees to a Violation at laſt, not only of all the Rules and Inſtitutions of true Religion, but of common Humanity. For does not the whole Chriſtian World at this day behold with Horrour, that the moſt Villanous Tenets of the fierceſt Scottiſh Covenanters, and even of their Remonſtrators, have been out-done by their Succeſſors and Diſciples in the Field-Meetings, and Armed Conventicles? Have they not thence proceeded to all the Execrable Rage of Rapine and Violence? In ſo much that ſome of them have lived and died glorying

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in the moſt barbarous Murders, and baſeſt Cruelties; refuſing obſtinately with their laſt Breath, ſo much as to pray for his Majeſty, or to ſay, *God ſave the King*; though by an unexampled Mercy, they had their Pardons aſſur'd to them at the very place and moment of their Execution, upon that ſingle Condition.

And beſides the remains of thoſe Bloody Enthuſiaſts, whoſe Principles are not yet entirely extinguiſh'd, though their force has been twice vanquiſh'd in open Field, by Gods Providence proſpering his Majeſties Arms; It is certain alſo the Peace of that Kingdom has of late been much indanger'd by other great Numbers of Factious and Seditious Spirits, who, though at firſt they would not venture to incourage publickly the others declared Treaſons, yet ſtuck not ſecretly to Favour and foment their Cauſe, and as the event infallibly proves, would ſoon have Own'd and Headed their Fury, had it proſper'd.

Wherefore the wiſe care of former Seſſions of Parliament there, having ſufficiently provided by a due ſeverity of Good Laws, againſt the dreadful Conſequences of continuing the Field-Meetings; for the farther ſecuring the Reformed Religion, and the Antient Rights of the Crown and the Royal Family in that Kingdom, it was judg'd adviſeable, by the Wiſdom of his Majeſties great Council, the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, to appoint and Authoriſe a Solemn Teſt to be taken by all Perſons in place of publick Truſt, or Power.

In that Seſſion the Teſt was ſoon paſs'd into an Act of State, without any conſiderable oppoſition:

Though there were not wanting ſome turbulent Men in the Aſſembly, who took that occaſion of ſhewing, how ill they were affected to the eſtabliſh'd Government of their Country; which they could have no other Inducement to be, but either a deſire of Commotions, by reaſon of the deſperate State of their own ill-ſpent Fortunes, or Envy at the better Condition of Honeſter Men, or ſome inveterate Contagion of Treaſon, derived down to them from the laſt unhappy Age of Confuſions.

Of that unquiet and ſeditious Party, the chief and declared Head was the late Earl of *Argyle*, who during the very ſitting of the Parliament, had, by many indirect ways, attempted to hinder his Majeſties Service; the ſaid Earl, and the then Preſident of the Seſſion, and their Complices taking their opportunity, in wording the Teſt, to add thereto all the very ſame Clauſes, that have ſince given any Colour of ſcruple to themſelves. But when all his Crafts for obſtructing the Bill were defeated by the far greater Number of well diſpoſed Members, the Loyal Voters for it being at leaſt Ten to One of the Diſaffected; then no ſooner was the Parliament Adjourn'd, but the ſaid Earl of *Argyle*, firſt at *Edenburgh*, next in Traverſing ſeveral Shires, did make it his chief Buſineſs to inſinuate every where, into the Minds of the Clergy and Laity, the moſt malicious Prejudices imaginable againſt the whole Tenour of the Teſt.

And afterwards on his return to *Edenburgh* he often preſumptuouſly declared, he would either not take it at all, or take it only with a reſerve of his

own

own explanation; which he put in VVriting and diſpers'd: the contrivance of it being ſuch, as diſſolves all the Obligations of the Oath, and makes his own preſent Fancy and private Opinion, the only Standard, whereby he meant to be guided in all the publick Duties of his Loyalty and Allegiance.

At length his Majeſties High Commiſſioner the *Duke*, and the Privy Council of that Kingdom, having been well inform'd of the ſaid Earls ſeditious Carriage in City and Country, and being fully confirm'd in their Judgments and Conſciences of his Trayterous Purpoſes, in that fallacious and equivocating Paraphraſe on the Teſt, which he own'd in their preſence, perverting thereby the ſound ſenſe, and eluding the force of his Majeſties Laws, in order to ſet the Subjects looſe from their Obedience, and to perpetuate Schiſm in the Church, and Faction in the State: Upon theſe Grounds, he was moſt deſervedly Proſecuted by his Majeſties Advocate, before the Soveraign Juſtice-Court, according to the known Laws of his Country; and after a full and equal Tryal, he was found guilty of Treaſon, by the Learned Judges, and a Jury not only of his Peers, but alſo many of them his own neareſt Relations.

Soon after Judgment given, albeit the King was far from any thought of taking away his Life, and that no farther prejudice was deſign'd againſt him, but the forfeiture of ſome Juriſdictions and Superiorities, which he and his Predeceſſors had ſurreptitiouſly acquired, and moſt tyrannically exercis'd; beſides the diſpoſal of part of his Eſtate

to pay his just Creditors, and some few moderate Donatives to those, whom he and his Father had formerly ruin'd for their Fidelity to his Majesty, the Surplusage being intended entirely to return, and descend to his Family; yet the said Earl abusing the great Freedom indulg'd him in Prison, (which he enjoy'd as largely after his Condemnation, as before) fled from his Majesties Mercy, the knowledge of his own Guilt not suffering him to venture on that Clemency, whereof he had before participated so plentifully, when he was under the like Sentence of Condemnation.

The King however, notwithstanding this new Provocation, still retain'd the same benign thoughts of favouring his Wife and Children. And before it was known that the said Earl had more Debt on his Estate than the full value of it amounted to, (which really was his Case) his Majesty was graciously pleas'd, in one Royal Largess, to give thrice more of the Inheritance to his Posterity, than their Father could lawfully have done, had it never been forfeited.

But how ill he deserved, or requited so many Acts of Grace and Bounty, will appear by the sequel of his Behaviour after his Escape. For instead of doing what his Complices and Dependants gave out he intended, that he would humbly cast himself at his Majesties Feet, and implore his Pardon, which he, of all Men living, had no reason to think desperate, he is no where to be found, but associating with his Majesties implacable Enemies in the Head of new Machinations of Treason, employs his Liberty abroad in maintaining Traiterous Correspondences at Home,

Home, with reſtleſs Malice exciting the wicked Conſpirators of both Kingdoms to a fatal Union againſt the Life, Government and Family of his Liege Soveraign and Benefactor.

And all this is to be proved upon him by Arguments as clear as the Sun, by the Credit of his own Authentick Letters, and by the plain Depoſitions of his principal Meſſengers and Agents in the whole Villany.

By this brief Recollection of the troubled State of Affairs, and the Tumultuous Temper of ill Mens Minds, in his Majeſties Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, about the time when this treaſonable Conſpiracy was in agitation, the impartial World may perceive, from what deſtructive ſeeds of Sedition, private Paſſions and Animoſities, under the diſguiſe of Religion and the publick Intereſt, ſo Monſtrous a Birth was produced.

In the wonderful Diſcovery of which deteſtable Confederacy, and in the happy Prevention of its dire Effects, as all who have heard of it, muſt acknowledge that a ſignal care of Gods Providence has appear'd, for his Majeſties and theſe Nations Preſervation: So his Majeſty gives the Sacred Word and Proteſtation of a King, that nothing has been done, on his part, but what was agreeable to that Royal Benignity and Natural Candor of his whole Life, whereof all the World, even his Enemies, have had ſuch undoubted Experience.

The Evidence was, moſt of it, deliver'd in his Majeſties own preſence. The Examinations were taken by Men of unqueſtionable Reputation and Honour. The whole Proceeding has been managed

managed with all imaginable Integrity. There has been no ſtraining or extorting of Accuſations to blemiſh the Fame of the Innocent: No Temptation of Rewards propoſed: No Pardon aſſured before-hand, for diſcovering or aggravating the Crimes of the Guilty.

Some Witneſſes, who offer'd themſelves, of whom there might have been any colourable Suſpicion, his Majeſty wholly rejected: Leſt it ſhould once again happen, that the blaſted Credit, or needy Condition, or profligate Lives of the Perſons depoſing ſhould derogate from the ſtrength of their Depoſitions, and adminiſter any the leaſt doubt of Subornation.

Thoſe Witneſſes his Majeſty admitted had been generally Men ſtrongly prepoſſeſs'd in Conſcience, Zeal and Intereſt for that Party: Men whoſe former avow'd Hatred of the Government was reaſon ſufficient to gain them an abſolute truſt with any, who ſtudied to overthrow it. They were not of deſperate Fortunes; Nor deſpicable Men. For the moſt part they ſeparately and ſingly brought in their Diſcoveries. Divers of them had little or no Converſation or Familiarity one with another. There was no ſhadow, or poſſibility of a combination between them all to diſcover; yet ſuch is the prevalence of Self-conviction, and ſo great the Power of Truth, that all their ſeveral Diſcoveries did perfectly agree with themſelves and with each other in all material parts and circumſtances.

It was therefore in the Summer of the Year 1683, a time when all his Majeſties Dominions injoy'd a ſettled Peace, and profound ſecurity, whilſt

whilſt the greateſt part of the Neighbouring World was involved in Wars and Combuſtions, that his Majeſty and his Council were ſuddenly awaken'd with the ſurprizing Knowledge of this dreadful Conſpiracy, which had been laying very deep and broad for many Months before.

The Man whom God choſe to make the firſt Diſcoverer, was *Joſiah Keeling*, Citizen and Salter of *London*. A Perſon of good Credit in the common Buſineſs of his Calling: but otherwiſe a moſt perverſe Fanatick; ſo fiercely addicted to their Cauſe, that he had been one of the buſieſt Sticklers in all the late Publick Oppoſitions againſt the Government. Particularly, he was the very Man who undertook, and perform'd the moſt inſolent Aſſault upon Authority, that perhaps the Party ever attempted in full Peace; which was the Arreſting the Lord Mayor, in open Day, in the midſt of the City of *London*, for refuſing to admit the pretended Sheriffs, who had been choſen by thoſe Meetings of the Factious in and about the City, that the Law has ſince condemn'd as Unlawful and Riotous.

However, by ſo eminent and bold a piece of Service, together with his former approved Activity and Violence for the diſcontented Intereſt, was *Keeling* judg'd by the chief Conſpirators fitly qualifi'd to be admitted into their moſt private Conſultations. And accordingly thereafter they truſted him, as one of their ſureſt Confidents. In ſo much that he was invited to make one of the Forty Miſcreants, whoſe proper part it was to Aſſaſſinate his Majeſties and his Royal Highneſſes Perſons.

Of

Of which Number after he had freely conſented to be, and had met and acted jointly with the reſt for ſome time, to prepare the curſed Work for a ſpeedy Execution; it pleaſed the Divine Goodneſs ſo to touch his Soul with the Horrour of ſo amazing a Crime, that he could not reſt Day nor Night, till after much conflict in his Mind, he had fully determin'd to diſcharge his Conſcience of the Helliſh Secret.

VVherefore having firſt Communicated ſome part of his burden to one Mr. *Peckam* his private Friend, who had often before warn'd him in general of the dangerous courſe he was in, by ſo deeply ingaging in all the former Seditious Intrigues, he was by him directed to addreſs himſelf to the Lord *Dartmouth*, one of his Majeſties Privy Council, who remitted him to Sir *Leolyn Jenkins*, Principal Secretary of State, before whom he gave his firſt Information upon Oath, and in due form of Law, on the Twelfth of *June* in that Year.

But the intended Aſſaſſination, upon the firſt diſcloſing of it, appear'd to be ſo prodigious a Barbarity, that his Majeſty for ſome time gave but very little Ear, and ſlow Credit to this Information, as little ſuſpecting as deſerving ſuch uſage from the worſt of his Subjects.

VVhich generous Caution that his Majeſty took, not to be impos'd on by New Rumours of Plots, and his Gracious Tenderneſs not to believe ſo ill of his very Enemies, but upon certain Demonſtration, was one of the chief Occaſions, that divers of the principal Agitators and Managers of the whole buſineſs, took the Alarm, and got time to ſcatter and withdraw beyond the Seas.

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However, by Gods Providence continually watching over his Majeſties and theſe Nations ſafety, ſo many of the Traytors ſoon after fell into the Hands of Juſtice, who did either voluntarily acknowledge their being Partakers of the Treaſon, or were Convicted of it by Evident Proof; that henceforth who ever ſhall pretend not to believe the Truth of the whole, they muſt either be ſuch as were Parties in the Deſign, or ſo monſtrouſly unreaſonable, as to believe there never can be a Real Plot againſt any Prince or State, but what does actually ſucceed and take effect.

Thus much is certain of this Conſpiracy, and it is ſo remarkable and extraordinary, that perhaps the like cannot be affirm'd of any other mention'd in all Hiſtory, that there was ſcarce a Man Attainted, or Executed for it, who did not, more or leſs, add ſome new Light to the ſeveral parts of the dark Contrivance; either by a plain Confeſſion of it, or by their very manner of denying it; and by the weakneſs of the Subterfuges, whereby they endeavour'd to palliate their Crimes.

Upon the whole Matter, though his Majeſty doubts not but the Treaſonable Infection was, in ſome degree or other, ſpread into moſt Quarters of theſe Kingdoms, amongſt the Ringleaders of the Republican Clubs, and lawleſs Conventicles in Town and Country; there being no reaſon for any Man to think otherwiſe, ſince it was the uſual boaſt of their principal Factors, That more than Twenty Thouſand Perſons were made privy to the very beginnings of it, before the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Flight: Yet his Majeſty utterly

abhorring that bare Suſpicions, though never ſo probably grounded, ſhould prevail to conclude any Man Guilty, has reſolved no Reflection ſhall be made on the Fame of any, but only ſuch, whoſe part in it was made out by poſitive Teſtimony.

And in the Kingdom of *England*, beſides the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who during his time, was the Prime Engineer in contriving and directing all the ſeveral Motions and Parts of the whole Conſpiracy; next under him, the Perſons who are already Judicially found to have been deeply concern'd as Actors, ſome in the Inſurrection part, others in the Aſſaſſination, divers of them in both together, are theſe,

The Duke of *Monmouth*, whom the Factious Party had long Corrupted, and Alienated from his Duty and Gratitude to the King and his Royal Highneſs, by ſuggeſting and increaſing in him groundleſs Fears, and poys'ning his Mind with unjuſt and forbidden Hopes.

The Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, who for ſome Years had been ingaged in the moſt furious Deſigns of the Faction; of late eſpecially, after he found that the Wickedneſs of his private Life could neither be ſo well hidden, or go unpuniſh'd in a quiet State as in publick Diſturbances.

The late Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe dark and turbulent Spirit and inſatiable Ambition had carry'd him on to be one of the Principal Authors of all the late Diſtractions in Publick Councils and Popular Heats againſt the Government: Till after many ſuch ill Practices, unworthy the Son of ſuch a Father, God left him at laſt to fall into this Precipice;

Precipice; and permitted him to punish himself for it more severely than the King could ever have found in his Heart to do, had he but given his Majesty time to make use of the excellent Goodness of his Nature.

The Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*, who had always been a busie Promoter of Fanatical and Republican Projects for Alterations in Church and State; and was therefore for a time the second Favourite of the Disaffected, whilst he was Imprison'd with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. Nor did they ever make any Objections against the Honesty of his private Life, till he came to the Honestest part of it.

The Lord *Russel*, a Person carried away beyond his Duty and Allegiance into this Traiterous Enterprise, by a vain Air of Popularity, and a wild Suspicion of losing a great Estate by an imaginary return of Popery; whereby he was the more easily seduced by the wicked Teachers of that most Unchristian Doctrine, which has been the cause of so many Rebellions, and was so conformable to his Presbyterian Education, That *it is lawful to Resist and Rise against Soveraign Princes for Preserving Religion.*

Colonel *Algernoon Sydney*, who from his Youth had profest himself an Enemy to the Government of his Country, and had acted accordingly. As he lived, so he died, a Stubborn Assertor of the *Good Old Cause.*

Mr. *John Hambden* the Younger, who has renew'd, and continued the Hereditary Malignity of his House against the Royal Family; his Grandfather having been the most Active Instrument to widen the Breach between the late blessed KING

and the seduced part of his People. The Usurper *Cromwel* often own'd, That Mr. *Hambden* was the very Man who advised him to oppose the Justice and Honour of his Majesties Cause, with an affected Zeal of Conscience and pure Religion.

Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, a Debauch'd Atheistical Bravo; one of those, who with an Hypocrisie peculiar to this Age, would have pass'd for the most forward Reformers of Church and State; whilst they themselves both in their Practise and Opinions, were the greatest Corrupters of Virtue, and all Good Manners.

Lieutenant Colonel *Walcot*, an Old Officer in *Cromwel*'s Army; who after Pardon and Indemnity receiv'd, and a plentiful Estate secured to him by his Majesties most Happy Return; yet was actually ingaged in all the Plots against the Government ever since: Particularly in that of *Ireland* some Years ago, to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*. He was Introduced by the Lord *Howard*, under the Character of a Stout and Able Officer, into a strict Familiarity with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; from whom he never after parted till his Death; accompanying him in his Flight into *Holland*, and returning thence with his Corps; he and *Ferguson* having this peculiar Mark of his Kindness, to be named Legatees in his Last Will and Testament, as his special Friends.

Colonel *John Romzey*, who had gotten Credit abroad in *Portugal*, by his Courage and Skill in Military Affairs. He was recommended to the Earl of *Shaftsbury* as a Soldier of Fortune, resolute and fit for his turn in any desperate Attempt. By his Majesties Favour, upon his Royal High-

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neſſes Interceſſion, he got poſſeſs'd of a very conſiderable Office in the Cuſtoms of *Briſtol*; which having ſold, he afterwards moſt ungratefully became the ſaid Earls entire Creature and Dependant. Nor was he ever a profeſs'd Papiſt, as, ſince his Confeſſion, the Party has given out that he was, according to their wonted Impudence of Lying.

Thomas Shepard Merchant of the City of *London*, one of a plentiful Eſtate, and eminent Repute, as any of his Rank on the *Exchange*: But a Violent Nonconformiſt, and Diſciple of *Ferguſon*'s.

The two *Goodenoughs*, *Richard* and *Francis*, both Notorious Enemies of the Eſtabliſh'd Government in Church and State. During all the time of the Factious Citizens moſt furious Eruptions againſt Authority, they had been both, for ſome Years, by turns, Under-Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*; ſo that the whole wicked Myſtery and Trade of packing the *Ignoramus* Juries paſs'd through their Hands.

Major *Holms*, a Fifth-Monarchy-Man, an old Army-Officer, a Confident of *Cromwel's*, and Truſtee for his Family. In the late Times of Uſurpation he was a Major in the Engliſh Army in *Scotland*, where he became acquainted with the Earl of *Argyle*, and was ſince made intimate to all his Treaſonable Purpoſes.

Richard Rumbald Maltſter, another old Army-Officer, a deſperate and bloody *Ravilliac*, who had often before laid Deſigns for the KING's Murder, which God as often prevented by ſome ſignal Providence.

William

William Rumbald, his Brother worthy of such a Brother.

Aaron Smith, a furious Fanatick, who amongst many other Seditious Practices, was a Factious Sollicitor for *College* the Joyner: and with unparalell'd boldness dared to menace the Government, and to put a Libel into that notorious Malefactors hands, before the Judges faces, at the very time of his Tryal: for which High Misdemeanor, he has since fallen under the censure of the Law.

William Hone, a Joyner, a melancholy Enthusiast, of *Colleges* Trade and Spirit; who besides a large Confession of his and others share in this Conspiracy, did also frankly own at his Tryal and Death, that many Years before he had proposed and design'd the Killing of the King out of *Bow-Steeple*, as his Majesty was passing to *Guild-Hall*.

John Rouse, a busie Agent in all the Tumultuous Proceedings of the City Elections.

Zachary Bourn, a Brewer, Son to an obstinate Independent, and he himself one of *Ferguson's* Hosts and Familiars. *Thomas Lea* a Dyer, *Andrew Barber*, both Anabaptists. However these three last mention'd did in some measure expiate their Guilt, by their ingenious and voluntary Confessions.

John Ayloff a Lawyer, the very Man who in a spightful defiance of his Majesties Government, did many Years since venture to put a French Wooden Shooe into the Speakers Chair of the House of Commons. Nor has the rest of his Life since come short of the insufferable Insolence of that Action.

Joseph

Joseph Tyley, *Edward Norton*, *Edward Wade*, *Richard Nelthrop*, *Robert West*, all of them Republican Lawyers, their Hatred of the Government transporting them to be Factious, against the known Interest of their own Profession. These were all Men of Crafty Heads, and Nimble Tongues; restless Spreaders of false News, bold Talkers in Seditious Clubs; where, according to the corrupt fashion of those Times, the most profligate Persons of all Conditions were wont openly to Arraign the Monarchy, and vilifie the Church, under the fair shows of amending both, and a tender Concernment for the Publick Good.

Next, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Names of the chief Instruments, who are already proved to have transacted that part of the Conspiracy under the Conduct and Influence of the late Earl of *Argyle*, and who since, well nigh all to a Man, but those that escaped on the first Notice of the Discovery, have made ample Declarations of their Guilt, are these,

Sir *Hugh* and Sir *John Campbell*, near Relations of the said Earls, and as much the profess'd Enemies of their Countries Peace and Government.

Sir *John Cockram*, Mr. *William Baillie*, Men egregiously disaffected to the Government, and therefore of considerable Interest with its most desperate Enemies in both Kingdoms.

These, together with *Monroe*, were the Persons desired by the English Managers, to come up to *London*, and Treat of a Joint Conspiracy with their Brethren here, under the disguise of Planting *Carolina*. At the same time Lieutenant Colonel

Colonel *Walcot* was call'd out of *Ireland* for the ſame end, but under colour of being the intended Governour of that Plantation. To this purpoſe they were firſt invited hither by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and after his Death again ſent for by a Particular Meſſenger. Accordingly they actually came up and Negotiated here ſome time, in order to a firm Conjunction between the Traytors of both Nations for a general Riſing. Nor was the Treaty wholly broke off, or adjuſted, at the very time when the Diſcovery broke forth.

To theſe are to be added, *James Steuart*, Son to Sir *James Steuart* ſometimes Provoſt of *Edenburgh*. He was fitted for ſuch a deſign by his hot and fiery Temper, and by his Education, and his Fathers Example; who together with moſt of his Relations, were violent Covenanters. This Man was the Author of the Libel call'd, *The Scottiſh Grievances*.

The Lord *Melvil*, deſcended from Progenitors of ſuch Principles as have been ever againſt the *Crown*, when they have fancied their Kings not Zealous for the Reformation. This Man had the Management of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Affairs in *Scotland* many Years: And when the Duke march'd againſt the Rebels near *Bothwel-Bridge*, the ſaid *Melvil* (as the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had adviſ'd) ſent to them to Capitulate, aſſuring them, the Duke of *Monmouth* had Orders to give them good Conditions; and when they would not ſubmit, *Melvil* was over-heard to ſay, *That all was loſt*: For the Beating of them would loſe the ſaid Duke with his Friends in *England*.

Sir

Sir *Patrick Hume* of *Polwart*, who kept Correſpondence with *Shaftsbury* many Years, and had been formerly Impriſon'd in *Scotland* for Traiterous Expreſſions.

------ *Pringle* Laird of *Torwoodlie*, a noted Fanatick, and of Antimonarchical Principles from his Infancy.

------ *Denham* of *Eaſt-Sheels*, juſt ſuch another, but leſs cautious, and more headſtrong.

------ *Montgomery* of *Lenſhaw*, a Covenanter to the higheſt degree of Bigottry.

Commiſſary *Monroe*, who had well ſerv'd his Majeſty in the Wars, as an active, brave Man: But upon ſome Injuries he pretended to have receiv'd from the Duke of *Lauderdail*, he grew enrag'd to ſuch a degree, as led him into theſe Courſes; which now make him ſo uneaſie to himſelf, that he has often begg'd of his Keeper to kill him, for ſuch an ungrateful Wretch ſhould not live.

Hugh Scot Laird of *Gallowſheels*, *James Murray* Laird of *Philiphaugh*, both zealous Sticklers for the Field-Conventicle-Meetings.

Beſides theſe, the Principal Scottiſh Agents, there were divers other inferior Emiſſaries of that Nation, who went to and fro to carry on the Traiterous Intercourſe between *Scotland* and *England*, and with the Earl of *Argyle* in *Holland*. Such as *William Carſtares*, a Scotch Conventicle-Preacher to a Numerous Meeting at *Theobalds*, where *Rumbald* was his frequent Hearer.

William Spence, who had been Comptroler, and was now Employed as Secretary to the Earl of *Argyle*, taken in *London* under the Name of *Butler*.

John Nisbet, born in *Northumberland*, bred up at the University of *Edenburgh*; where he was the Leader of those Seditious Students, who rais'd a Tumult upon occasion of Burning the Pope in that City.

But of all the Conspirators, whether English or Scotch, the Man to whom next the late Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Argyle*, belong'd the chief Place and Precedence in the whole Diabolical Design, was *Robert Ferguson* a Scotch-Man; he had been divers Years a fierce Independent-Preacher in the City of *London*, and had long Brandish'd his Poysonous Tongue and Virulent Pen against the Government: He is manifestly convicted to have had a Hand in the most Scandalous Libels of those Times; and was always particularly cherished, magnified and maintained by the Party for his peculiar Talent in aspersing the Government, and reviling his Majesties Person. So that upon all Accounts, of his restless Spirit, fluent Tongue, subtil Brain, and hellish Malice, he was perfectly qualified to be the great Incendiary, and common Agitator of the whole Conspiracy; and after *Shaftsbury*'s Death, it cannot be denied but he was the Life and Soul of all, especially for the carrying on of the Assassination.

These Persons appear hitherto to have been the principal Contrivers or Instruments of the whole Treason, in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*.

Divers others there are, concerning whom more than Conjectural Proofs may be given of their being engaged in it: But his Majesty is willing to spare particular Names, as far as may stand with

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the Neceſſary, and Juſt Vindication of his Government.

It may ſuffice, that of theſe his Majeſty has here allowed to be mention'd, the World is abundantly ſatisfied, that the ſeveral Shares they undertook in this Conſpiracy, were very agreeable to their former well known perverſe Principles, and declared Diſaffections to the Government.

It is therefore certain that in the Year 1682, before, and eſpecially after *Midſummer-Day*, when the great Buſineſs of Electing the City Sheriffs came of courſe to be Agitated; the whole Factious Intereſt in and about the Town, prepared to employ the Main of their Power and Craft in preventing the Swearing of the True Sheriffs, on the *Michaelmas-Day* enſuing.

All which time nothing was omitted by the Diſloyal Citizens, and great Numbers of Strangers unduly mingled with them in all their Aſſemblies, to elude or terrifie the Honeſt Zeal of the Loyal, and to deceive and gain over the doubtful Members of the City; Whether by direct or indirect ways, it matter'd not: For juſt about that time the New and Deviliſh Invention came to be moſt in Vogue, by which they made the receiving all Oaths, and taking the very Bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, to be only an Inſtrument for the promoting their pretended Godly Deſigns.

VVherefore in that ſpace of time, all imaginable prophane, and ſeemingly holy Cheats and Prevarications were practis'd: All ſorts of Arms never before known to be procured in ſuch Quantities by private Perſons; ſuch as Blunderbuſſes,

Steel Armour cover'd with Silk, and the like, were carefully ſought after, and bought up: The moſt improbable falſe Rumours fill'd every Street; That now all true Proteſtants were to be Maſſacred in an inſtant; That ſuch Sheriffs were Nominated, as had conſented to be the Executioners; That Popery was ſpeedily to be Introduced barefac'd, and in Triumph; That all faithful Adherents to the Government were but Papiſts in Maſcarade: Popery being ſtill made the Word of Alarm to excite and exaſperate the Populace: Though it is manifeſt, the Authors of all thoſe Clamours againſt Popery, never intended its Suppreſſion: For that would not have conſiſted with their Deſign, which was, by the Popular Dread of it, upon all Occaſions to ſhake the Crown, and undermine the Church of *England*.

The Truth is, to ſuch a heighth of Arrogance were things grown on their ſide, that whoever ſhall indifferently reflect on the dangerous Devices, ſlanderous Reports and Writings, and other violent Emotions of the whole Party, that Summer in the City, they will have juſt cauſe to conclude, that the courſe of their Proceedings was not ſo much a Civil Struggle againſt their Fellow-Citizens for Victory in the Peaceable Choice of Two ſubordinate Officers of Juſtice, as a Deciſive Contention for a Maſtery over the whole Government.

Yet however cunningly the Train was laid, it took no effect but on themſelves. The Noiſe and Rage of all their Mutinous Routs in Taverns and Coffee-Houſes vaniſh'd into Air. Sir *John Moor* the Lord Mayor, together with the greater number

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of wiſer, richer, and better Citizens, underſtood rightly, and ſtuck unmoveably to the Kingdoms, and their own true Intereſt. Mr. *North* and Mr. *Rich* were quietly admitted, and ſworn Sheriffs at the appointed time, with the uſual Solemnities.

Immediately after this, the very ſame Night the Earl of *Shaftsbury* privately withdrew from his own Houſe, redoubling his old Exclamations of Popery, Tyranny, Superſtition, Idolatry, Oppreſſions, Murders, Iriſh Witneſſes; of whoſe Subornation no Man in the three Kingdoms could have given a more exact account than himſelf.

Whilſt he thus lay ſecret in the City, *Romzey*, *Walcot*, *Ferguſon*, *Goodenough*, and other his Complices, daily frequenting him, they applied themſelves with all diligence to expedite the Rebellious Work before projected: His Vain-glory, and the Conceit of his own Dexterity, and his former conſtant ſucceſs in making Confuſions, inclining him to fancy, what his Flatterers ſuggeſted, *That the whole City and Kingdom were at his beck, and upon the holding up of his Finger, would preſently riſe in Arms to Extirpate the Two Brothers, Slavery and Popery*, as they were lewdly wont, in their private Debauches, to ſtyle the King and his Royal Highneſs.

The ſaid Earl of *Shaftsbury* had ſome time before ſet on Foot a Treaty with the Earl of *Argyle*, who, after his eſcape out of *Edenburgh*-Caſtle, came privily to *London*, held divers Meetings with the Confederates, and offer'd, That for 30000 *l.* Sterling he would make a ſturdy Commotion in *Scotland*. But the Sum of Money demanded being

ing ſo conſiderable, and many other Scruples ſtarted, and unforeſeen Difficulties riſing, which could not ſo preſently be removed, as *Argyle*'s preſſing danger required, he firſt quitted the Field, and retired into *Holland*, with intention there at a greater diſtance, and more ſecurity, to renew and proſecute the ſame Propoſal.

About that time alſo both ways of deſtroying theſe Kingdoms were brought under their Conſideration, the general way of an Inſurrection, and the more compendious way, as they call'd it, of Aſſaſſinating the King and Duke in their return that *October* from *Newmarket*. The Inſurrection was inſtantly promoted on all Hands, in Town and Country. But the Aſſaſſination having then not been ſoon enough thought on, went no farther than Diſcourſe, to be afterwards reſumed, and more deliberately provided for againſt the next Opportunity.

In the mean while the long-expected *Michaelmas-Day* being thus calmly paſs'd, and the New Sheriffs having taken a peaceable Poſſeſſion of that Power, whoſe Influence on the whole Nation the ſaid Earl of *Shaftsbury* well underſtood, no Man better: Then he began on a ſudden to have a quicker and ſharper ſenſe of the urgent State of their common Affairs, eſpecially of his own Imminent Peril, and to accuſe the reſt of the Confederates of Backwardneſs, if not of Treachery in the Publick Cauſe: Firſt Communicating his Suſpicions and Jealouſies to the Lord *Howard*, who had been ſo lately the Companion of his Reſtraint, and Goal-Delivery.

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The Lord *Howard* was retir'd some Days before into *Essex*, waiting the result of that great Day in the City, whence he receiv'd frequent intimations from his Friends of the Faction, in a Style obscure, but by him well understood and concerted between them; That now the business which had been Transacting so long amongst his Correspondents, was coming to good Issue, and call'd for his speedy presence.

That occasioned his return on the same *Michaelmas-Day*, and presently after, *Walcot* came to him from the Earl of *Shaftsbury* with a Message expressing his earnest desire to speak with him in his Concealment at one *Watson*'s in *Wood-street*.

Accordingly the Lord *Howard* giving him a Visit, the substance of the said Earl's first discourse with him, was, That finding the Due Elections, as he call'd them, of the City frustrated, and the Pseudo-Sheriffs establish'd, he could no longer think any honest Man safe; and had therefore hid himself there, having first made what Preparations were needful for a sudden Rising: That many Thousands were ready in the City to Master the Gates, and attack *Whitehal*: That they within were to be assisted from the Countries adjacent with 1000 or 1200 Horse under good Officers. Only he complained of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s and the other great Mens backwardness, who had promised, by Rising in other remote Counties at the same time, to give a Diversion to the standing Forces.

The Sum of this the Lord *Howard* the next day Communicated to the said Duke; who also on

his

his part complain'd of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s acting of late on a ſeparate Bottom, and that his preſent Fears had blinded his uſual Prudence; and therefore he required a ſpeedy Meeting with him, to re-eſtabliſh a better Underſtanding and Union of Counſels between them all for the future.

This Diſcourſe being reported back to the ſaid Earl, he replied, *His People were impatient of longer delays, having advanc'd ſo far, that there was no retreat; the Deſign being imparted to ſo many, that it was impoſſible but it would quickly take Air.* Upon this he proceeded to declare his vehement ſuſpicion of the Duke of *Monmouth; That his Dilatorineſs proceeded from ſome private Correſpondence between him and his Majeſty: That it was to be fear'd the ſaid Duke acted with a proſpect very different from theirs; only minding the Advancement of himſelf: whereas his own Reſolutions were, that ſince it was now manifeſt their Liberties were no more to be ſecur'd but under a Commonwealth, he alone with his Intereſt would attempt the Deliverance of his Country: If the reſt of the Lords would concur with him, they might ſhare in the Glory; elſe he hoped he ſhould be able to effect the Work without them, by the help of an honeſt briſk Party in the City.*

Upon this Anſwer the Duke of *Monmouth*, ſuſpecting that before their People could be ready in the Country, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s unſeaſonable Anxiety for his own Safety might put him on attempting ſome raſh Action in *London*, which would be eaſily quell'd by the form'd and diſciplin'd Guards, and ſo the whole Deſign might be ſtifled in a moment; he did therefore the more earneſtly preſs the Lord *Howard* to make another eſſay to procure an Interview. The

The Lord *Howard* did ſo, and got from the ſaid Earl a promiſe of meeting the Confederate Lords the next Day in the Evening; which yet, when the time came, he put off with an excuſe by Colonel *Romzey*.

However, ſome Days after they did meet; their Differences were in ſome meaſure piec'd up, and they began to act jointly again towards a ſpeedy Inſurrection.

To this purpoſe ſeveral Days were propoſed. One about the latter end of *October*, but it was delay'd a little longer, till the Concurrence of the ſeveral Counties could be ſignified up: Then that of Queen *Elizabeth*, being *Novemb.* 17. was named, but rejected, becauſe all his Majeſties Guards were commonly in Arms to watch and ſuppreſs the wonted Tumults of the Rabble on that Day.

At laſt the Nineteenth of *November* was fixt on; which happening that Year to be on a *Sunday*, whilſt ſome excepted againſt it for that reaſon, *Ferguſon* with his uſual impious Virulency reply'd, *That the Sanctity of the Day was ſuitable to the Sanctity of the Work.*

The Day being thus determin'd, they all preſently fell to prepare as their ſeveral parts were allotted: Eſpecially the great Managers held Aſſemblies to receive Accounts, how the Counties were diſpos'd, and to conſult upon ſurprizing the Guards; for which end the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, undertook to view the poſture of their Quarters, and reported back to their Principals, *That the ſeizing them was a thing very feaſible*; which very parti-

cular the Duke of *Monmouth* afterwards confeſs'd in ſo many words to his Majeſty, when he rendred himſelf.

In the mean time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was very uneaſie, and weary of lurking in Holes, where every ſound and breath of Air began to frighten him. Wherefore with repeated and importunate Meſſages he preſs'd the other Lords to keep to their Day; expoſtulating with them upon their former ſlowneſs, whereby they had loſt ſo many advantageous Opportunities. The caſe being now ſo much alter'd, that he, who once preſum'd his driving out the King would prove but a leiſurely walk to him; when the danger drew near himſelf, was become ſo apprehenſive, and raſh, as not to afford his own wicked Counſels leiſure enough to come to any tolerable Maturity.

At length one Day, when their great Council about *London* was aſſembled at *Shepard*'s Houſe in *Abchurch-Lane*, the ſaid Earl ſent Colonel *Romzey* to quicken their Debates, and once for all to learn the reſult of their final Determinations. But they having juſt before received ſeveral Advices out of the VVeſt, that their Friends there, eſpecially in *Taunton* and *Devonſhire*, could not poſſibly be ready on ſo ſhort a warning, preſently ſent him back ſuch word; concluding it could not be helpt, but he and they muſt be content to reſpite the time of Execution to a longer day.

This poſitive Anſwer broke all his Meaſures, and made him inſtantly reſolve to leave *England*. VVherefore firſt he removed his lodging into *Wapping*; Then, the very Night that place was Burnt,

being

being alſo the Night of the ſame 19th Day of *November* on which he had expected to ſet the whole Nation in a Flame, he privately ſculk'd down the River; Attended only by the two chief Complices and Witneſſes of his Treaſons, *Walcot* and *Ferguſon*; the latter of them having been forc'd for ſome time before to abſcond too, becauſe of a VVarrant out againſt him, for Publiſhing ſome one, or other of his many Treaſonable Pamphlets.

That was the laſt conſiderable Effort made by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, againſt the King and Kingdom. After this, nothing more was heard of him, but that being got into *Holland* in a Panick fright, he lived obſcurely and ſoon after died in *Amſterdam*; having few or no other Companions of the laſt part of his Life, but ſeveral miſerable Engliſh and Scotch Fugitives, who had formerly been the Inſtruments of his Trayterous Practiſes, and were forc'd to fly the ſtroke of Juſtice, on that Account: So that he could not but know, that all thoſe about him in his Sickneſs and Death, had Juſt reaſon to hate, and curſe him, as their principal Seducer and cauſe of their Ruine.

Nor can ſuch an end of ſuch a Life be juſtly reflected on, without a ſpecial Adoration of the ſecret Counſels of the Divine Providence. That he, who a little before was generally eſteem'd the Head, and Protector of all the Factious in the Kingdom, whom he vouchſafed to diſtinguiſh and Honour by the Title of VVorthy Men, and the Terror and Scourges of all the Good, and the Loyal, whom he mark'd out, and deſign'd for

Deſtruction and Slaughter, under the Name of Men worthy: He who, in his own conceit, had ſo much the abſolute diſpoſal of the Hearts and Hands of all the Diſaffected, as to be able to ſubvert the Eſtabliſh'd Government, when he pleaſed, and had really once gone very far to effect it, had not his own Preſumption Defeated his Malice; That this very Man, having ſeen all his hopes, and contrivances daſh'd in Pieces at home, ſhould have nothing left to do, but to take ſhelter, in that Commonwealth, which in his former Greatneſs, he had ſo mortally provok'd; there to lead a Life of Diſgrace and Miſery, and to Dye neglected in a Country of which he had formerly expreſs'd ſo great a Hatred: And yet ſtill retaining ſo much Venemous Rancour againſt his moſt Gracious Maſter, as to profeſs with his laſt Breath, that he had deſervedly receiv'd his Deaths Wound, meaning the bruiſe in his Side and now his Death in that Country, where he had done his own ſo much Miſchief; When he was one of the Commiſſioners ſent thither, in the Year 1660, to invite his Majeſty home freely and without Terms.

After this, though the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was gone, yet the impreſſions of Miſchief he had left behind on the minds of the Confederates, would not ſo eaſily vaniſh. They ſoon reflected on his laſt adviſe, that ſo, many having been made Conſcious to the Deſign, they ſhould certainly find more ſafety in puſhing it on boldy, than in too late a Retreat. Upon this immediately they recover'd their Spirits and Reſolution, which his haſty flight had ſomewhat Damp'd; thenceforth they renewed their Conſultations with greater vigour than before:

before: The Principal Managers having their frequent Meetings, as alſo the inferior Inſtruments theirs; whilſt ſome of each Number gave ſecret intimations to the other of what was paſſing in their ſeparate Aſſemblies.

Of the great Council of Six, the Conſults that have been hitherto plainly teſtifi'd and ſworn to, were thoſe at Mr. *Hambdens*, at the Lord *Ruſſels*, and at Mr. *Shepherds*. The Subordinate Cabals were kept in divers places in and about the City; As in the *December* of that Year, at Colonel *Romzey*'s Houſe in the *Soho* Square; in the next *February* at *Weſt*'s Chamber in the Temple, about which time it was agreed that *Ferguſon* ſhould be ſent for, as he was, and came over accordingly. Then their Meetings were more frequent upon the Kings being at *Newmarket*, and after: Uſually at *Weſt*'s Lodgings, for the conveniency of its ſituation; Or in common Taverns; As at the *Miter* within *Aldgate*; The *Horſe-Shooe* on *Tower-Hill*; The *Fortune* at *Wapping*; The *Syracuſa*-Houſe; The *Kings-head* in *Atheiſt-Alley*; the *Salutation* and the *George* in *Lumbard-Street* on *June* the Twelfth, the very Day of the Diſcovery, they met at the *Sun-Tavern* behind the *Exchange*; on *June* 14 they met at *Bailly* of *Ferviſwood*'s Chamber, and again in *Bartholomew-Lane*, and at the *Green-Dragon* on *Snow-hill*; and ſo continued to do ſome where or other, till they totally diſpers'd from *Walcot*'s Lodging in *Goodman's Fields*.

Their Meetings being ſo generally in places of Publick Entertainment; Therefore to prevent the Obſervation of Drawers and Servants, they often

often discours'd of their whole Bloody Business, in a Canting Language of their own making.

The King was sometimes call'd the *Church-Warden* of *Whitehal*: The King and Duke the *Black-Bird* and the *Gold Finch*; the *Captain* and *Lieutenant*. Provisions of Arms, as *Blunderbusses*, *Muskets*, *Pistols*, were talk'd of under the disguis'd Names of *Swan-Quills*, *Goose-Quills*, *Crow-Quills*. The Insurrection was styled the *General Point*, the Assassination the *Lopping Point*, and *Striking at the Head*. And because several of the Conspirators were Lawyers, it was sometimes agreed, that their wicked Intentions against the King and the Duke should be veil'd under the Terms of Disseising him in Possession, and barring him in Remainder: At other times the Killing of both pass'd for Executing a Bargain and Sale, as being a short manner of Conveyance; and the Rising in Arms, as the longer, and more tedious way, for Executing a Lease and Release. The Villains thus wantonly abusing the Innocent Terms of the Excellent Profession of the Common Laws of *England*, to cover their horrid Designs against his Majesties Person and Crown, whose Preservation and Prosperity is the great end and sense of all those Laws.

But for the most part, when they were free and amongst themselves, they discours'd of the whole Contrivance in plain Language, and without reserve: their common Healths being such as these; *To the Man who first draws his Sword against Popery and Slavery, in defence of the Protestant Religion. Confusion to the two Brothers, Popery and Slavery*; explaining the same to be meant of

the

the Royal Brothers of *Whitehal*. And when ſome of them, who were leſs harden'd in Cruelty, expreſs'd ſome kind of Conſternation and Dread of the Conſequences of ſo dire a Stroak, and deſir'd the Infamy of it might be thrown on the Papiſts; others, particularly *Ferguſon*, declared, *They thought the Action too good to have the Papiſts carry away the Honour of it;* and often applauded it as a *Glorious Work; That it would be an Admonition to all Princes to take heed how they Oppreſſed their Subjects; That he hoped to ſee the Fact rewarded by a Parliament, and the Actors in it have the Honour of Statues Erected to them, and the Title of Preſervers of their Country.* So alſo when *Nelthrop*, *Walcot*, and ſome few others readily declar'd themſelves willing to joyn in the Inſurrection, but ſhrunk a little at firſt at the horrour of the Aſſaſſination, *R. Rumbald* and *R. Goodenough* with monſtrous Impiety maintain'd *The Kings and the Dukes Murder as the more Pious Deſign of the two*, and recommended it *as keeping one of the Ten Commandments, and the beſt way to prevent ſhedding Chriſtian Blood.*

In theſe their private Cabals, the Matters they promiſcuouſly treated of, were *Either a General Inſurrection, or the Aſſaſſination of the Kings and his Royal Highneſſes Perſon.* Of the Aſſaſſination divers ways were conſulted, till they fix'd on that of the *Rye*. The Inſurrection was propoſed to be made at the ſame time in *England* and *Scotland*. The adjuſting that part of it, which related to *Scotland*, was chiefly under the care of the Council of Six, and manag'd by Commiſſioners of both Nations ſitting in *London*: All which

which Particulars are ſo circumſtantially ſet forth, ſo often repeated, and demonſtrably confirm'd in the enſuing Evidences, that it will be ſufficient here only to direct the Readers Obſervation, by giving a brief Summary of the whole.

Towards an Inſurrection throughout *England*, they laid the greateſt ſtreſs on the City of *London*; not doubting but if that were once ſecur'd to them, the reſt of the Nation muſt of courſe fall in; taking incouragement and example in this, as in many other things, from the curſed Methods of the Unnatural Rebellion in the late Kings time.

The City of *London* therefore was carefully divided by them into Twenty parts; and to that purpoſe one of the largeſt Maps of the City and Liberties was hung up in *Weſt's* Chamber, the moſt uſual place of their Rendezvouzes; the making the ſeveral Partitions and Allotments of the whole, being committed to *Richard Goodenough*, who by reaſon of his univerſal acquaintance, as having been ſo often Under-Sheriff, was judg'd the fitteſt Man of the whole Party for that Work.

The City being thus divided, it was agreed, that every Diviſion ſhould be aſſign'd to ſome one principal Man of greateſt Truſt, Courage and Conduct; each of thoſe Twenty was to chuſe Nine or Ten, or more, in whom they could confide. Theſe were to have the inſpection of the ſeveral Under-walks, and from time to time to make returns of their Numbers and Strength; and when the Liſt was finiſh'd, it was to be communicated to the ſupreme Managers.

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By this means they made no queſtion but they ſhould have a ſelect Body of at leaſt Eight or Ten Thouſand approved and well appointed Men to make the firſt Onſet; *Goodenough* alone having aſſur'd them, that out of ſeven Diviſions only, there were 3000 Reſolute Men prepar'd to be ready at an hours warning.

For the increaſing their Numbers, and drawing in new Converts, this one general Rule was carefully preſcribed, That the bottom of the Deſign ſhould in the beginning be warily conceal'd from all Perſons with whom they treated. Firſt, their Inclinations were to be try'd by gradual Inſinuations, and plauſible Diſcourſes at a diſtance, till they had gain'd a full aſſurance of their Fidelity. They were to be ask'd, *What they would, or could do, in caſe of a Foreign Invaſion?* When it was anſwer'd, *They would readily aſſiſt againſt any Common Enemy:* Then it was next to be demanded, *Whether they would contribute the aſſiſtance of their Perſons, or Purſes, or both?* That being alſo determined, it was to be farther inquired, *What Furniture of Arms, Horſes, and Money they had in readineſs? What Friends they could engage?* And if theſe Queſtions were reſolved according to their Minds, then the whole Myſtery of the Villany was to be frankly diſcloſed. They were to be told in down-right terms, That there was already an Oppreſſion and Force upon all they had; That there was an actual Invaſion on the Engliſh Liberties, Properties and Conſciences: That the only Obligation the Subject has to the King, is a Mutual Covenant; That this Covenant was manifeſtly broken on the Kings part; That therefore

the People were free from all Oaths, or other tyes of Fealty and Allegiance, and had the Natural Liberty reſtored to them of aſſerting their own Rights, and as juſtly at leaſt againſt a Domeſtick, as againſt Foreign Invaders.

The way being thus made to ſound and prepare the Diſpoſitions of ill Men for any Violent Enterprize; the next thing that came under Deliberation was Mony. For that, ſeveral of the particular Conſpirators declared, they had conſiderable Sums of their own, or depoſited with them, which were ready, and might be call'd for on Occaſion; That great Subſcriptions had been made of divers Thouſands of Pounds, which when the time of Action drew neer, were to be diſtributed amongſt the Chief of the Twenty Diviſions; That this would be enough to make proviſion for a ſudden Puſh: But if the buſineſs ſucceeded, Half a Years Rent of the *Chimney-Mony* would be due, beſides what the *Exciſe-Office* and the *Cuſtom-Houſe* might afford: That all the Mony and Plate in *Lumbard-ſtreet*, and what was in the poſſeſſion of the Bankers, Goldſmiths, and other VVealthy Men in *London*, or the Suburbs, was either to be ſeiz'd on as a juſt Forfeiture, or Borrowed under the Name of the Old, and Antiquated Cheat of the Publick Faith. Particularly *Ferguſon*, whoſe conſtant Cuſtom it was, in all their Conſults, to out-do all the reſt by ſome peculiar Circumſtance of Cruelty of his own Invention, added on this Head, That little or nothing was to be expected from the Old Rich Citizens; that therefore Five or Six of them were to be kill'd at firſt, and their Eſtates given to the Mobile, to terrifie the reſt. The

The next neceſſary Proviſion they debated on was Arms. And it is notoriouſly known, the whole Party had for a long time before, been gathering great abundance of all Sorts: All probably with the ſame proſpect, and in the ſame Proportion for their Parts in the Conſpiracy, as the Lord *Gray* had done for his, though they happen'd not all to be ſo manifeſtly detected. For a good while before any Conſpiracy was ſuſpected by his Majeſty, or his Miniſters, the ſaid Lord was found to have by him, hid under other Common Furniture in a dark Garret, above Fourſcore Compleat Arms in his Private City-Houſe, where no open Robbery or Aſſault could be fear'd; and by conſequence, there could not be the leaſt ſhadow of pretence that they were laid in there for his own lawful uſe or defence.

But beſides theſe Stores, which they had every one made for themſelves; it was reſolv'd at the very firſt to attempt the Publick Magazins in and about the City; Particularly that in the *Artillery-Ground*, where a conſiderable Number of Excellent Arms were commonly kept without a Guard, for the frequent exerciſes of the Citizens.

Many thoughts alſo were ſpent how to engage the Seamen to their Side. To this end ſeveral Riotous Meetings were made at *Wapping*, the greateſt Men amongſt them not diſdaining there to Feaſt and Cajole the Rabble; often ſtyling that Scum of People they there met with, their honeſt *Wapping* Friends. Beſides this, ſome Sea Captains were tamper'd with, and a Golden Ball was propoſed to be hurl'd upon *Black-Heath*; none queſtioning but the Sea men, aſſembled at that ſport,

would declare for them as one Man; upon a groundleſs fancy, that they were of themſelves highly diſcontented, and ready to Mutiny for want of Pay.

Though it muſt be ſaid, and his Majeſty does hereby publickly own, that their Practiſes with the Seamen met with the leaſt ſucceſs of any. Nor is it imaginable, the brave Race of Engliſh Mariners ſhould ever prove falſe to his Majeſty, who has cheriſh'd, incourag'd, and promoted that Profeſſion more than all the Kings of *England* have done ſince the Conqueſt; his Majeſty well underſtanding that the Safety, Riches and Honour of this Kingdom depend moſt on its Maritime Greatneſs.

However, the Conſpirators not in the leaſt doubting but they ſhould have ſufficient Numbers to make a ſtand, and give time to others to come in, and declare; their Rendezvouſes were appointed in the chief Piazza's, and moſt of the convenient Poſts of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; whence they might at once Attack the *Bridge*, the *Exchanges*, the Guards, the *Savoy*, *Whitehal* and the *Tower*; and they had ready in Town about 100 of *Cromwel*'s old Officers to Head and Govern the mixt Multitude as ſoon as they ſhould appear in Arms.

At the ſame time a Party of 500 Horſe was to come out of the Country to ſcour the Streets; and immediately Barricadoes were to be made: the Horſes of Hackney-Coaches, and other Strangers were to be ſeiz'd on: the Horſe-Guards not actually mounted to be ſurpriz'd in their ſeveral Stables:

Stables: the Churches to be broken open, and uſed as St. *Pauls* was in the late Times.

Ferguſon had alſo often aſſur'd them, *He could promiſe for Three Hundred Scots to be ready at a day*; affirming, *That ſuch a Number, moſt of them* Bothwel-Bridge *Men, reſided about Town, as Journey-Men in divers Trades, and were to be Commanded by Ten or Twelve Gentlemen of that Nation*: Adding, *That ſome Hundreds more went about the Country with Packs, taking that way to get and carry Intelligence, as well as for a Livelyhood.*

Upon ſuppoſition of this Strength, *Whitehal* was to be aſſaulted at once by one Party from the *Strand*, by another on the back-ſide from *Weſtminſter*, and on the River by Water-Men in Boats with Hand-Granadoes. And in confidence that his Majeſty and the whole Court would ſpeedily either be taken or flee, there were diſtinct Parties aſſign'd to way-lay them on the Road either to *Windſor* or *Portſmouth*.

Their principal Aim being to ſurprize the *Tower*, as a Place moſt able to annoy them, and where there lay great Magazines and Stores of Ammunition to furniſh them, they had many Debates of Stratagems propoſed on that ſubject.

One was to be perform'd by Night, by firing a parcel of Fagots to burn down the Gates, whilſt a ſtrong Party without was to be ready to make a briſk Attack in the firſt Confuſion of the Gariſon.

Another to be Executed about Two in the Afternoon, thus: One Party privately Arm'd was to go ſee the Armory, another the Lyons: The

firſt

first to return into the Sutler's House by the Gate: At the same time, some were to come in Coaches on pretence of visiting the Lords then Prisoners: Those in the Sutler's House were to Issue out, and kill a Horse, or overthrow a Coach just in the passage. Then both Parties to joyn, and seize on the Guards; and by a sign given, upon the Coaches over-turning, Two or Three Hundred Men, lodg'd in Houses thereby, were to come in and second the rest.

Another was, that some of the Conspirators, as Constables, and Officers of Justice, should bring in others as Offendors, and that several should enter feined Actions one against the other it St. *Catharines-Court*, then held in the *Tower*: On the Court-Day others were to come in as Plaintiffs, Defendents, and Witnesses, who joyning with those that seem'd to come out of Curiosity, all these might be seconded by a like Party prepar'd from without; the over-turning a Coach being likewise made use of in this Case. Which soever of these ways should happen to be attempted, the Lord *Dartmouth*, Master-General of the Ordnance was immediately to be dispatch'd, as one whose Bravery and Courage they fear'd would prompt him to blow up the great Magazine of Powder there, and so bury them with himself in the Ruine, if he found he could not other ways resist them.

Besides securing to themselves by these means the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, which was their greatest care; they had also under Consideration the raising Commotions at the same time in divers other parts of *England*: Especially in those

Counties

Counties of the *Weſt* and *North*, which they believed the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Progreſſes had moſt inclined to their Factious Intereſt.

In every County ſome one Great Man was to put himſelf at the Head of the Rebellion, and divers of them had their proper Stations appointed.

Particularly of *Newcaſtle* they made themſelves ſure; and laid great ſtreſs upon it, by reaſon of its Vicinity to *Scotland*, and the Influence its Coal-Pits have on the City of *London*.

In *Cheſhire* they depended on a numerous Aſſiſtance; that being the County in which the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had formerly adviſed the Inſurrection ſhould begin, and a Free Parliament be declar'd for, at the time of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s going thither in one of his Mock Triumphs.

Portſmouth was to be attempted by ſome going into the Town on pretence of ſeeing the Place; at the ſame time another Party coming in on the Market-day, diſguis'd like Country-Men, and both together were to fall on the Guards.

From *Taunton* they expected great Numbers, remembring the old Diſloyalty of the Inhabitants, which they had evidenc'd by a moſt remarkable Inſolence; having preſumed for ſome Years after his Majeſties moſt happy Reſtoration, to keep ſolemnly a Day of Thankſgiving to God for raiſing the Siege which his Father had laid againſt the Parliaments Rebellious Forces in that Town.

In *Briſtol* they had ſecured a good Party, which they doubted not might eaſily Maſter the City; as manifeſtly appears by the full Confeſſion of *Holloway* Citizen of *Briſtol*, which he freely made upon

upon his very firſt Examination, and afterwards confirm'd at his Execution, when he could not have the leaſt hope of Pardon to be obtain'd thereby.

At the ſame time when they were making theſe Preparations for an Inſurrection, the other deſign of Aſſaſſinating his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs kept equal pace with it.

It is manifeſt that ſome of theſe very Men had often before deviſed the Kings and his Royal Brothers Murder divers ways. For beſides what *Hone* confeſs'd of the Propoſal to ſhoot them from *Bow-Steeple*; and another Project of deſtroying them the next Lord Mayor's Day before, which was laid aſide upon notice that his Majeſty and his Brother intended not to be there; and beſides *Richard Rumbald*'s Invention of blowing up the Play-Houſe, when they ſhould both be preſent; the ſaid *Rumbald* inform'd his Confederates, that he and ſome of his Friends had reſolv'd to cut off the King and the Duke in their Journey to, or from *Newmarket*, above Ten Years before; and had layn ſometime in ambuſh to that purpoſe, but without effect, becauſe, as God would have it, his Majeſty and his Royal Brother then unexpectedly went the other way through the Foreſt; which, as the Wretch himſelf could not but obſerve, they have ſeldom or never done before or ſince.

And now alſo, upon this occaſion, divers ways of performing the Aſſaſſination were debated. One was to make the attempt on them in St. *James*'s *Park*, as they were paſſing privately, and ſometimes almoſt alone to St. *James*'s.

Another,

Another, when they ſhould be going down the River for their Divertiſement, either to ſink the Barge by over-running it with an Hoy, or by boarding it on a ſudden, and ſhooting out ſome Planks with Blunderbuſſes.

Another, to plant Men in the Pit at the *Play-Houſe*, who ſhould be ready to ſhoot at them unawares with Pocket-Blunderbuſſes, two of which *Rumzey* ſent to his Majeſty.

Another, to do it in their return thence to *Whitehal*, under *Bedford-Wall* in *Covent-Garden*; where one part of the Aſſaſſines might walk unſuſpected in the Piazza, a ſecond within the Rails, a third in the Church-Porch; and all Iſſue forth in an Inſtant, to compaſs the Coaches, and diſpatch the Buſineſs, or do the Trick, as they ſtyl'd it.

It was alſo propoſed to be undertaken between *Windſor* and *Hampton-Court*, or in their going to *VVincheſter*, or if the Royal Brothers ſhould happen to be preſent at the Bull-Feaſt in *Red-Lyon-Fields*.

But all theſe other Propoſitions, as ſubject to far more Caſualties and Hazards, ſoon gave place to that of the *Rye* in *Hartfordſhire*: A Houſe then Inhabited by the foreſaid *Richard Rumbald*; who propoſed that to be the Seat of the Action, offering himſelf to Command the Party that was to do the Work. Him therefore, as their moſt daring Captain, and by reaſon of a Blemiſh in one of his Eyes, they were afterwards wont, in common diſcourſe, to call *Hannibal*; often drinking Healths to *Hannibal and his Boys*, meaning *Rumbald* and his Helliſh Crew.

The commodiouſneſs of the *Rye* for any ſuch deſperate Enterprize ſoon incourag'd them to fix it there: Its lonely and retir'd Situation, and the Incloſures about it being ſuch as would afford all advantages imaginable to the Aſſailants, and give as great Inconveniences to the Perſons attacked.

The place being agreed on, it was firſt queſtion'd, whether the ſtroke ſhould be ſtruck, upon his Majeſties going to, or coming from *Newmarket*: But it was thought more expedient to defer it till his Majeſties return.

That point being over, they had ſeveral Meetings, to conſult of all the Circumſtances of the Parricide.

The Number of the Men to be perſonally engaged were Forty at Leaſt, to that end two or three Liſts of Names were drawn up, out of which the choice was to be made, and the Roll was neer completed.

The Arms to be uſed were Blunderbuſſes, Muskets, Piſtols, Carabines. To get them down thither without ſuſpicion, many ways were thought on. One, to put them up in Cheſts, and bring them by Land in Carts. Another, to hide them in a Boat, under Coals, or Oyſters, or ſuch common Lading, and ſo to convey them up the River of *Ware*. Another, that every one concern'd ſhould go down privily Arm'd, and ſo all Travelling in ſmall Parties, ſcatter'd, and at their leiſure, they might eaſily meet unperceived about the *Rye*; at the time prefixt.

When the Fatal Hour ſhould approach, the attempt was agreed to be made in this manner. Some one or two were to be ſent forth on the Road

towards

towards *Newmarket*, to diſcover in which Coach the King came, and what Company attended him; which they well knew was commonly no more than ſome ſix of the Guards; and thoſe alſo were ſuppoſed to have their Horſes weak, and almoſt tired by that time they came thither, ſo near *Hodſdon*, one of the uſual Stages where his Majeſty was wont to change Coaches and Guards.

Upon warning thus given of the Kings being near at hand, all were to be in readineſs within the Houſe and Yards to iſſue forth in a moment, ſome on Horſeback, ſome on Foot.

Immediately upon the Coaches coming within the Gates and Hedges about the Houſe, the Conſpirators were to divide into ſeveral Parties: Some before in the habit of Labourers were to overthrow a Cart in the narroweſt paſſage, ſo to prevent all poſſibility of eſcape: Others were to fight the Guards, *Walcot* chuſing that part upon a Punctilio of Honour: Others were to ſhoot at the Coachman, Poſtilion and Horſes: Others to aim only at his Majeſties Coach, which party was to be under the particular direction of *Rumbald* himſelf; the Villain declaring before-hand, That upon that occaſion he would make uſe of a very good Blunderbuſs, which was in *Weſt*'s poſſeſſion, moſt blaſphemouſly adding, that *Ferguſon* ſhould firſt conſecrate it.

It is indeed a thing prodigious to tell, and were it not for the undeniable proofs of it, very difficult to be believ'd, that not only one or two ſuch Furies ſhould riſe up in a whole Age, but that ſo great a Number of Men ſhould, in the ſame time and place, be found ſo void of all Humanity, as

not only to imagine and contrive so horrid a Fact, but to discourse of it in so many Meetings, so sportfully and merrily as they did, as if the cruellest Tragedy which wicked Men or the Devil ever invented, had been only a matter of common pastime and loose raillery. Thus when at one of their Consults *West* invited *Rumzey* to be Godfather to his Child, he answered, *He would, if he might be allow'd to call him* Brutus. And when it was once proposed to Kill the King and the Duke at the *Play-House*, by blowing up the whole Audience with them, *Ferguson* approved the way, and impudently said, *That then they would Die in their own Calling*. And when some objected against it, *That by this means the Innocent would perish with the Nocent*; another justified it, saying, *What did the Jack-Daws do amongst the Rooks?* And when some proposed that to give a better colour to what they did, the King and Duke should not be killed, but only seiz'd and brought to Tryal, after that the People had got the better, it was answer'd by *Ferguson*, *That it was never thought Injustice to shoot, or set Traps for Wolves and Tygers.*

The execrable Deed being thus suppos'd by them to be feasible without much Opposition, they then farther consider'd the several ways of their escaping afterwards. Sometimes they thought of retreating towards *Cambridgeshire*, and scattering there; sometimes of retiring into the *Rye-House*, which being guarded with a Moat, and Brick-Walls, they doubted not to defend it against the frighted Country People for some Hours till Night, when they might shift for themselves, and disperse. Another way that *Rumbald* himself

proposed,

propoſed, was to lead them out of the great Road through the Meadows, which were to be gallop'd all along; ſo that they might with eaſe come into *London* by *Hackney-Marſh*, before the News of what was done could poſſibly get thither. It was concluded at the ſame time, that divers Lords, and principal Men of their Party, ſhould be invited to an Entertainment that very day in the City, that they might be upon the place to Head the Faction at the firſt arrival of the News.

But whilſt they were thus wholly intent on this barbarous Work, and proceeded ſecurely in its Contrivance, without any the leaſt doubt of a proſperous ſucceſs; Behold! on a ſudden God miraculouſly diſappointed all their Hopes and Deſigns, by the terrible Conflagration, unexpectedly breaking out at *Newmarket*. In which extraordinary event, there was one moſt remarkable paſſage, that is not ſo generally taken notice of, as for the Glory of God, and the Confuſion of his Majeſties Enemies it ought to be.

For after that the approaching fury of the Flames had driven the King out of his own Palace, his Majeſty at firſt removed into another Quarter of the Town, remote from the Fire, and as yet free from any annoyance of Smoke and Aſhes. There his Majeſty finding he might be tolerably well accommodated, had reſolved to ſtay, and continue his Recreations as before, till the Day firſt named for his Journey back to *London*. But his Majeſty had no ſooner made that reſolution, when the Wind, as conducted by an inviſible Power from above, preſently chang'd about, and blew the Smoke and Cinders directly on his new Lodgings,

ings, making them in a moment as untenable as the other. Upon this, his Majesty being put to a new shift, and not finding the like Conveniency else-where, immediately declared he would speedily return to *Whitehal*; as he did: which happening to be several days before the Assassines expected him, or their Preparations for the *Rye* were in readiness, it may justly give occasion to all the World to acknowledge what one of the very Conspirators could not but do, *That it was a Providential Fire.*

Now upon the first notice in Town of the Fire at *Newmarket*, and that by consequence the King would be necessitated to come home sooner than was imagin'd, the principal Assassines were summon'd by *Ferguson* to a Meeting that very Night.

They at first receiv'd the News with various Apprehensions and Motions of Mind, looking on one another with much Astonishment and Confusion. Amongst the rest, *Walcot* acknowledg'd, *He thought it an Expression of Gods disapproving the Undertaking*; whilst *Ferguson*, without any sign of the least relenting, said, *That he perceiv'd God had reserv'd his Majesty for his own Judgment.* However that Evening they generally agreed, That since Arms, Horses and Men could not be provided in so short a space, because the King was daily expected, and the day of his coming uncertain, therefore all farther thoughts of the business should be laid aside for that time.

Yet the next Morning, the Company being again assembled, upon Reports spread abroad that his Majesty purpos'd to retire to *Cambridge*, and stay there some days, *Ferguson* vehemently insist-

ed,

ed, *That the Deſign ſhould inſtantly be reaſſumed; That what could be, ſhould be done in ſo narrow a time.* And particularly *Armſtrong* offer'd himſelf *to go down in Perſon to the* Rye *in order to it, if a Sum of Money could be preſently rais'd, and a competent Number of Men got together.*

But the Noiſe of the *Cambridge* Journey ſoon vaniſhing, put an end to thoſe Deliberations; though it was a conſtant Expectation and Whiſper among the Party, *That ſomething extraordinary would be done on the very Day of his Majeſties coming home.*

In theſe uncertainties they remain'd till the King came; and ſome days after *R. Rumbald* returning from the *Rye*, increas'd their Rage for this defeat, by telling them, *That he ſaw his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs paſs by his Houſe but very ſlenderly guarded, only with five or ſix Perſons, and thoſe tired, and ill appointed; ſo that he doubted not but with the like Number of ſtout and well-arm'd Men, he might eaſily have taken them both off.*

Upon this, preſently after at their next Meetings it was agreed, *That to prepare againſt any ſuch Diſappointment for the future, a ſufficient Number of Arms ſhould be bought, and kept in readineſs for any other Opportunity, if ſuch could be found during any of his Majeſties Journeys that Summer; or at fartheſt in his next going to* Newmarket.

To this purpoſe *Weſt* told them he was acquainted with a very good Gun-ſmith, and took upon himſelf to provide the Arms; *Ferguſon* engaging to pay the Money for them.

Accordingly

Accordingly *Weſt* bought Thirty Caſe of Piſtols, Thirty Carabines, and Ten Blunderbuſſes of one *Daft* a Gun-ſmith in *Shooe-Lane*; and *Ferguſon* paid him for them about three weeks before the Diſcovery.

Weſt's pretence of buying ſo great a quantity of Arms, was to ſend them into *America*, where he had a Plantation; and to diſguiſe the buſineſs the better, he caus'd them to be ſanguin'd, in ſhew to preſerve them from Ruſt in ſo long a Voyage, and had them made up in Sea-Cheſts, as ready to be Tranſported.

So they continu'd till after the noiſe of *Keeling*'s having betray'd all. Then *Weſt* to avoid ſuſpicion ſent them to a Sea-Captain, ſetting Sail for the *Weſt-Indies*, but without any Bill of Lading or Conſignment, as is uſual; in whoſe Cuſtody the Arms were ſeiz'd, and delivered into his Majeſties Stores, to be there kept for a better uſe.

In theſe their ſeveral Conſults many caſual Diſcourſes interven'd, relating indifferently either to the Inſurrection or Aſſaſſination: As, What Commiſſions were at firſt requiſite to be given out, and in what ſtyle they were to run. What Declaration was to be immediately publiſh'd to juſtifie the Fact. What Project of Government to be pitch'd on, and ſetled afterwards.

It was agreed that the Commiſſions for this Nation ſhould be iſſued forth in the Name of the Confederate Lords and Commons of *England*.

For preparing a Declaration, divers of their Number were order'd to bring in their Conceptions apart, out of all which Collection, a compleat

pleat Remonstrance was to be gather'd by some of their ablest Heads.

The main drift of the whole was to amuse the Peoples Fancies for a Time with new Chimera's of Freedom from Taxes, and Advantages for Trade, and Moderation of Law Expenses, and a Toleration of all Sects; then to calumniate the Royal Family for divers Generations past; to asperse his Majesty as a Tyrant and Oppressor, and to accuse all his Faithful Subjects, as servile Instruments of Arbitrary Power, and Betrayers of their Country: Whilst they and their Party were to be magnified, as the only Assertors and Restorers of Liberties, Properties, and the True Protestant Religion. Their design in all this being the same that has been constantly put in practise by all promoters of Sedition and Treason in all Ages; Who have always thought they have done more than Half their business, if they can but once appropriate to themselves all the Good and pleasing Words of things plausible and popular; and fasten on the Government the Names and Titles of things vulgarly odious, or contemptible.

Touching the new Form of Government to be set up in stead of the old, they were not altogether so unanimous, that being also natural to all Schisms and Factions, that tho they may sometimes agree in what they would ruine, yet they never did, nor can long consent in what they shall settle.

Some were still for retaining a shew of Monarchy, though with such Restrictions as would make the Prince little better than a Duke of *Venice*.

Others were politively for a Common-Wealth, and the entire subversion of the present constitution, openly declaring, it was their purpose not only to change Names, but Things.

Nay upon this point, some of them doubted not frequently to profess in plain Terms, *That if their great Darling, the Duke of* Monmouth, *should be squeamish*, as they worded it, *in approving and Confirming what had been done in Heat of Blood, then he himself should fare no better than the rest, when their Swords were in their Hands.*

A sufficient Admonition to all Men of Quality and Estate, how hazardous their condition is, and how mean their Servitude, whilst they are heading popular Tumults; tho for a little time perhaps they may seem to others, and fancy themselves, to have an absolute sway over them.

But their particular Head of Discourse in which the Conspirators chiefly delighted, and were wont in their Meetings most amply to enlarge their inventions, was concerning *their resolutions of several kinds of vengeance to be Executed on those Eminent Persons of all Professions, whom they thought most capable and willing to oppose their Bloody Enterprize.*

In that part indeed their Passion transported them beyond all bounds of common Prudence, even to the highest Degree of ridiculous Vanity, and extravagant Ostentation of their full assurance to succeed in the dire Attempt.

Having first Gloried in the *Imagination of imbruing their Hands in Royal Blood*; they scrupled not to profess *they would continue the Assassination on all the principal Officers of the Crown,*

and

and Miniſters of Juſtice; and ſpightfully projected all Circumſtances imaginable which they thought might aggravate the Terrour or Ignominy of their Puniſhment.

Sir *John More*, the Lord Mayor of the former Year, and Sir *William Pritchard* the Lord Mayor, and Mr. *North* and Mr. *Rich* the Sheriffs of that preſent Year, were concluded fit to be Murder'd, and their Skins ſtuff'd and hung up in *Guild-Hall*, for a dreadful Warning to Poſterity.

Alderman *Corniſh* or *Gould* was to be declared Lord Mayor; *Papillion* and *Dubois* Sheriffs: If they refuſed, they were to undergo as bad a fate. Some others alſo were doom'd to the like deſtiny, who might think they deſerved well of the Faction by their Moderation. But they reſolved that Neuters ſhould be treated as ill as their moſt avow'd Enemies.

Moſt of the Judges were to be kill'd for their pretended Illegal and Arbitrary Judgments, and their Skins in the ſame manner hung up in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

Some of the principal Abhorrers, Addreſſers, and reputed Penſioners in the late Long Parliament, (under which Titles in their Modern Opprobrious Language they had been us'd to comprehend the moſt ſteddy Adherents to the Crown, and True Sons of the Church of *England*) were to be brought to Tryal, and Death: The Skins too of thoſe they ſtyled Penſioners were to be hung up in the Houſe of Commons.

The Church-Men they hated, and deſpiſed in general, as Men whoſe Intereſt could never be divided from the Crown, and of courſe would fall with it.

The Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Sir *Leolyn Jenkins*, the Lord Keeper, and divers others who had been his Majeſties moſt faithful Councellors in the time of extream hazard, were nam'd as Men whoſe Deſtruction was certain, and who could not poſſibly eſcape the firſt Rage of the Maſſacre. Particularly it was determin'd the Lord Keeper ſhould be ſent to *Oxford*, and Hang'd on the ſame Gallows on which the Infamous *College* had been Executed.

In this furious manner they proceeded to lay about them in their common Diſcourſes with all the Infernal Malice that is ſo agreeable to their Principles, and inſeparable from them; there never having yet been found, in all Records of Time, any pretended Conſcientious Zeal, but it was always moſt certainly attended with a fierce Spirit of Implacable Cruelty.

During all this time, as it cannot be imagin'd that either of the Cabals was altogether unacquainted with what the other was doing; ſo it is manifeſt, ſome of their great Men underſtood the dark Hints that were ſometimes given them, of *Striking at the Head*, and *Shortning the Work by removing two Perſons*: And alſo that theſe Inferiour Inſtruments proceeded on aſſurance, That *when they came to Action, they ſhould be Headed by Men of much higher Quality and Condition than as yet openly appear'd amongſt them.*

Where-

Wherefore of the Debates and Reſolutions of their Great Council, thus much has been already teſtified upon Oath : *That ſhortly after that the Earl of* Shaftsbury *fled, it was thought expedient, for the furtherance of the Deſign projected in his time, that a ſmall ſelect Number of the moſt Eminent Heads of the Party, in and about* London *and* Weſtminſter, *ſhould be united into a cloſe Cabal, or ſecret Council; who might have their frequent Aſſemblies, and be ready, on all Occaſions, to guide and direct the Motions of the Lower Agents.*

The Perſons, who undertook this Univerſal Care and Inſpection, were the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Howard*, Colonel *Algernoon Sydney*, and Mr. *John Hambden* Junior. Beſides that, *Romzey*, *Armſtrong*, *Ferguſon*, *Shepard*, and ſome others, were admitted, as occaſion ſerv'd, on ſome particular Debates.

Their firſt Meeting was in *January* of that Year at Mr. *Hambden*'s Houſe; where ſome general Heads were propounded of things to be reſolv'd on, in their more mature Thoughts: As, *Where the Inſurrection ſhould firſt be made, in City or Country, or in both at once: What Counties were moſt diſpoſed for Action: What Places would be moſt proper for their Rendezvouſes: What Arms were neceſſary, how to be provided, where to be laid in: What Money needful at firſt to be rais'd, and where to be depoſited, ſo as to Adminiſter no Ground of Jealouſie: And by what Means the diſcontented Party in* Scotland *might be brought into the Confederacy.*

This

This laſt was look'd on as the principal Point, and deſerving their firſt Direction. Wherefore at their next Meeting about Ten Days after, at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Houſe, they began with conſidering a way of ſetling an Intelligence with the Earl of *Argyle* beyond the Seas, and with his Complices in *Scotland*.

Upon this a Meſſenger was Ordered to be ſent into *Scotland*: It was committed to Colonel *Sydney* to chuſe the Perſon, and to furniſh him with Inſtructions.

The Man choſen by Mr. *Sydney*, at the Recommendation of *Nelthrop*, for his known Merits towards the Cauſe, was *Aaron Smith*. The Sum given him to defray his Expences, was Three or Fourſcore Guinea's. The ſubſtance of his Meſſage was to invite up Sir *John Cockran*, the *Cambells* of *Ceſſnock*, and ſome others, to Treat in *London*.

Here the Lord *Howard*'s Information ſtops. For then the Managers ſeem'd to agree amongſt themſelves to have no more conſtant Aſſemblies till the return of the Meſſenger. Though ſince it appears the ſaid Lord was thereafter excluded from their Conſultations, for having been too laviſh with his Tongue, in reporting abroad what had been there tranſacted.

However it has been proved by unqueſtionable Evidence, that preſently after this, *Aaron Smith* did ſet forth towards *Scotland*, arrived there the Spring of that Year; and by ſome indiſcretion had like to have ſpoil'd the whole buſineſs: Which to recover, and to remove all ſuſpicions, *Cockran* was forc'd to preſent himſelf before the Council of *Scotland*. After

Afterwards he and his Companions came to Town, and the Negotiation was warmly set on Foot: In the mean time *Cockran* and the rest often attended at *Windsor* to make their Court, one day kissing the King's and the Duke's Hands, the next consulting with the English Cabal; all in shew to sollicit the Interest of *Carolina*, whilst they really intended a Business of far greater Importance, which was, in their own Language, *To see what could be done for the delivery of the Nation*.

At the same time the late Earl of *Argyle* for his part had deputed some of his Confidents hither to attend the Issue of those Debates, to represent his Proposals, and to transmit to him the Results of their Counsels; the whole Correspondence between them being veil'd under a style of Merchandize.

The Treaty being thus begun, some general Things were easily agreed on by all sides. *The Scots were to rise first; the English to have notice of it with all possible speed; then to second them here: The Rebellion in both Kingdoms to be before Harvest: Arms and Ammunition to be transported out of* Holland: Argyle *to go with them and Head the Rising.*

These things being quickly pass'd over, some other Matters endured a longer Contest; and one unseasonable Dispute had like to have broken all. The English Commissioners requir'd, *They should presently declare for a Commonwealth, and the Extirpation of Monarchy*; which the Scots refused, protesting *The generality of their People would never hearken to that at first.*

But

But the great Point on which the Concluſion of the whole depended, was the Sum of Money to be rais'd, and intruſted with the Scots to lay out: The Sum at firſt demanded was Thirty Thouſand Pounds; that ſunk afterwards to Ten Thouſand: But for the raiſing of this, the Engliſh made ſeveral delays and ſcruples, being willing to truſt their Scotch Brethren with any thing but Money.

Upon this Contraſt the Treaty was often on and off; the Scots talking high, objecting to the Engliſh, *That they were only good at Fire-ſide-Plotting; whereas for their part they were reſolv'd to Riſe, though they had nothing but their Claws to fight with.*

At length they came to an Agreement, *That the Ten Thouſand Pounds ſhould be rais'd, and put into the Hands of* Shepard, *who was to return the Bills for it by* Ferguſon *or* Baillie *to* Amſterdam.

After this manner was the whole Conſpiracy going on, when the Diſcovery overtook it. For now the happy Twelfth of *June* was come. *Joſiah Keeling* had ſworn to his firſt Depoſition before Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*: But finding that his Majeſty and his Miniſters were exceeding diffident of his ſingle Intelligence in a buſineſs of ſo vaſt a Moment, he conſider'd which way he might beſt ſtrengthen his Evidence. To that end he prevail'd with *Goodenough*, who had an entire confidence in him, that his Brother *John Keeling* might be admitted into the next Meetings of the Conſpirators, he himſelf promiſing to be anſwerable for his Secrecy.

This

This was done, and thereupon both the Brothers gave in their joint Teſtimony upon Oath on the 14 of *June*, touching the progreſs of the Treaſon. So they continued to do for a day or two more, till *John Keeling* let fall ſome Expreſſions to his Relations, which they whiſper'd about among their Fanatick Acquaintance, *That*, as they call'd it, *ſomething was working which might do miſchief to honeſt People.*

That being rumour'd about, came quickly to the Knowledge of ſome of the Conſpirators. Upon this they immediately aſſembled, and *Rumbald* declar'd his Fears of *Keeling*'s Treachery, and that were he ſure of it, he would inſtantly get him knock'd on the Head. But *Keeling* coming in amongſt them, ſomewhat clear'd himſelf, and allay'd their Jealouſie, by many Aſſeverations of his Fidelity to the Common Cauſe.

Soon after they met again, when it was ſuggeſted, That *Keeling* had been ſeen about *Whitehal* and on the Road to *Windſor* where his Majeſty then reſided: But *Keeling* ſtill frequenting their Company, renew'd the Proteſtations of his Innocency; pretended his going to *Whitehal* was upon other buſineſs; complain'd he was in great want of Money; upon which One Hundred Pounds, the Sum he told them he ſtood in need of, was preſently rais'd and lent him that Evening, leſt his Want ſhould be a Temptation to him.

But their diſtruſt increaſing every Hour, it was mention'd to *Keeling*, that the beſt way for him to render himſelf unſuſpected, would be to withdraw out of Town for ſome ſhort time, *Rumbald* offering him his Houſe to retire to. *Keeling* ſtill

endeavour'd by many Imprecations to quiet their Suſpicions of him; but perſiſted that he could not go into the Country, by reaſon of urgent Buſineſs of his Calling and Family.

So for that time he got ſafe out of their Hands, which they afterwards extreamly regretted; ſome of them owning that it was their purpoſe, if they could have got him abroad, to have kill'd and privately Buried him.

But ſhortly after this, they heard that Warrants were out againſt divers of them, and therefore agreed to meet on *Monday June* 18th, at *Walcot*'s Lodgings in *Goodman's-Fields*, to conſult once for all what ſhould be done for their Common Safety.

Accordingly at that time there met *Walcot*, *Norton*, *Wade*, *Romzey*, the two *Goodenoughs*, *Nelthrop*, *Weſt*, *Ferguſon*. Their Opinions were very different what courſe was to be taken. *Weſt* once propoſed, That all ſhould ſtand their Ground, and by a bold Denial and their Perſonal Credit, out-face and baffle *Keeling*'s ſingle Word. But the Conſciouſneſs of their own Guilt would not let them hearken to that advice.

Wade and ſome others offer'd, as *Armſtrong* had done to ſome of them juſt before, That things ſhould ſtill be put to a Puſh, that if a Thouſand Men could be got together, and the Duke of *Monmouth* in the Head of them, ſomething might ſtill be done: At the worſt it were better for them to Die like Men, than to be Hang'd like Dogs. But that was alſo rejected as a wild and deſperate courſe. *Romzey* and the reſt alledging their Peoples Hearts were down, and accuſing

their

their great Men for want of Spirit and Resolution.

Then they determin'd upon flying; and had some thoughts of hiring a Vessel immediately to transport them into *Holland*: But finding, on Inquiry, that the Boat could not be clear'd at the *Custom-House* till next Morning, nor at *Gravesend* till the Afternoon; they concluded that would be too late; and therefore every Man was left to shift for himself.

So they separated in much Terrour and Confusion. Only *Walcot*, according to the constant sacrilegious way of the whole Party, to intitle the Almighty to their greatest Impieties, said at parting, *God would yet deliver the Nation, though he did not approve of the present Instruments.* And *Ferguson*, to keep up the same Character of remorseless Villany to the last, took his leave of them in these very words; *That he perceived they were Strangers to this kind of Exercise, but he had been used to fly, and would never be out of a Plot as long as he liv'd; and that he hoped yet to meet some of them at* Dunbar *before* Michaelmas.

Now a day or two before this their final separation, the King and his Council began to be convinc'd of the truth of *Keeling*'s Evidence, by a full knowledge of the Witnesses Character, and by the firmness and consistency of his Testimony; besides many other concurring Circumstances. Wherefore his Majesty order'd Warrants should be issued out against the Persons accus'd, whereof some absconded, others were taken. Of these last, divers confirm'd what *Keeling* had sworn, and named others as Partakers in the Treason.

VVhereupon more and more appearing every day to have been engaged, Proclamations were Publiſh'd in *England* and *Scotland* for their ſpeedy Apprehenſion. By this means, through the Providence of God, ſo many of them were either ſeiz'd, or deliver'd themſelves up, as have irrefragably confirm'd every part of the foregoing Account. VVhat became of the ſeveral Conſpirators, will appear by the following Liſt.

Of the ENGLISH,

SIR *Thomas Armſtrong* preſently after fled beyond the Seas, where he remain'd till the next Year, when he was ſurpriz'd at *Leyden* in *Holland*, brought into *England*, and received the deſerv'd Reward of his Horrid Ingratitude and Treaſons.

John Ayloff fled, and withdrew from Juſtice, and ſtands Outlaw'd upon that account.

Andrew Barber was taken and freely confeſs'd.

Robert Blaney came in, and confeſs'd what was done and ſaid at the Trayterous Meeting at Colonel *Romzey*'s Houſe.

James Burton fled, and is alſo Outlaw'd for Treaſon.

William Blagg a Sea Captain, was Taken, Try'd and Acquitted, there being but one poſitive Evidence againſt him.

Zechary Bourn was ſeiz'd on in *Eſſex*, as he was making his eſcape into *Holland*, and largely confeſs'd afterwards.

Colonel *Danvers* of *Newington*, was taken and diſmiſs'd upon Bail. He has ſince Publiſh'd a moſt

Malicious

Malicious and Scandalous Libel againſt his Majeſty: For which he is fled.

The Earl of *Eſſex* taken at his Houſe in *Hertfordſhire*, and committed Priſoner to the *Tower*.

Richard and *Francis Goodenough*, both fled, and ſince Outlaw'd.

The Lord *Gray* of *Wark* was ſeiz'd on, examin'd before his Majeſty, and order'd to be ſent to the *Tower*. But in his going thither, by the negligence of the Serjeant at Arms he made his eſcape, got beyond Sea from the Coaſt of *Suſſex*; and is now alſo Outlaw'd.

John Hambden Junior taken, Tryed for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, Condemn'd in 40000 *l.* Fine, and Impriſonment.

Major *Holms* taken in *London*; he confeſs'd the Correſpondence with the Earl of *Argyle*, whereof the Key was intruſted with him and ſome others.

James Holloway fled, was taken at *Mevis* in the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſent back into *England*, Confeſs'd and was Executed.

William Hone in his flight was taken in *Cambridgeſhire*. He made his firſt Confeſſion at *Cambridge*, the ſubſtance of which he afterwards own'd upon all Occaſions to his Death.

Joſeph How was taken and confeſs'd.

The Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* was taken in his Houſe at *Knights-bridge*, hid behind the Hangings of his Chamber; and at length confeſs'd.

Thomas Lea the Dyer was taken, and confeſs'd.

The Duke of *Monmouth* withdrew upon the firſt Proclamation wherein he was Named, and lay

lay hid for divers Months, till he render'd himself, and confeſs'd.

Edward Norton fled, and is Outlaw'd.

John Nisbet fled, was taken in *Eſſex* ready to go beyond Sea. He was the Author of the Letter of Trade VVritten to *Gourdon* a Scotch-Man under the Name of *Pringle*.

John Rouſe Taken, Try'd, Condemn'd, Executed, making at his Death a Penitent Confeſſion.

John Row once Sword-Bearer of *Briſtol*, fled upon the firſt Diſcovery; as did alſo both the *Rumbalds*: They are all three Outlaw'd.

Colonel *Romzey* firſt abſconded, then render'd himſelf, and confeſs'd.

The Lord *Ruſſel* taken at his Houſe in *Southampton-Square*, Try'd, Condemn'd, Beheaded. He confeſs'd enough to ſhew his Crime, but not his Repentance.

Thomas Shepard hid himſelf, but ſoon came in and frankly confeſs'd.

Aaron Smith had kept ſecret ſome time before, becauſe of a Sentence againſt him for High Miſdemeanors: But was taken, and is ſtill a Priſoner.

Colonel *Algernoon Sydney* Taken, Try'd, Condemn'd, Beheaded.

William Wade, *Joſeph Tyley* fled and are Outlaw'd.

Colonel *Thomas Walcot* firſt retired, then ſent a Letter to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, plainly acknowledging *That the Plot was laid very deep and wide, promiſing to diſcover more, if he might have hopes of Pardon.* But before he could receive an anſwer,

anſwer, the Conſcience and fright of his own Guilt made him withdraw from the place where he had appointed to ſtay for it. He was ſoon after Taken, Arraign'd, Condemn'd, Executed; perſevering to the laſt in the main of his Confeſſion.

Robert Weſt withdrew for a time, but then gave himſelf up, and has amply confeſs'd.

Beſides theſe there were divers others at firſt ſecured, but afterwards diſmiſs'd by courſe of Law; as the Lord *Brandon*, Mr. *Booth*, Major *Wildman*, Mr. *John Trenchard*, Major *Breman*, Mr. *Charlton*; this laſt having been taken in diſguiſe.

Of the SCOTS,

MR. *James Steuart*, Brother to the Laird of *Cultneſs*, had fled out of *Scotland* a ſhort time after the Earl of *Argyle*, upon occaſion of dangerous Papers taken in his keeping. Thereafter he tranſacted only by Letters and Negotiations, remaining out of danger beyond the Seas.

Commiſſary *Monroe* and the two *Campbells* of *Ceſſnock* were taken.

The Lord *Melvin*, Sir *John Cockran* and *Ferguſon* eſcap'd divers ways; though *Ferguſon* ſtay'd ſome time in Town after the Diſcovery, in hopes ſtill of obtaining Bills of the Money to be remitted into *Holland*.

William Bayley of *Jerviſwood* was ſeiz'd on in *London*, convey'd to *Edenburgh*, and there Try'd, and lately Executed.

William

William Carſtares, *William Spence*, *Alexander Gourdon* of *Earlſton* taken, the two firſt in Town, the laſt at *Newcaſtle*.

By the poſitive Confeſſion of theſe three Scotchmen, together with that of Major *Holms*, who were the Earl of *Argyle*'s chief Agents in this buſineſs, was the firſt greateſt light given of the ſaid Earls part in the Conſpiracy.

Of theſe, *Alexander Gourdon* Laird of *Earlſton* was a Zealous Field-Conventicler, and had been a *Bothwel-Bridge*-Rebel: Where upon the rout of their Army, his Father was kill'd, and he taken Priſoner. Having afterwards got his Liberty, he became Sollicitor for the Faction, in *England* and *Holland*, under pretence of collecting Contributions for maintaining ſuch of them as were denounc'd Fugitives; for which purpoſe he had a formal Commiſſion ſign'd and ſeal'd in the Name of the General Aſſembly of their Party at *Edenburgh*.

Before any Diſcovery, he was taken at *Newcaſtle* under a feigned Name, endeavouring to get a paſſage beyond the Seas. About him were ſeiz'd divers Original Papers, which as ſoon as he was made Priſoner, he try'd to make privately away, but the Kings Officers obſerving his deſign, ſecur'd them.

Amongſt theſe Papers, there was one very remarkable Letter Written to him under another Counterfeit Name of *Pringle*. The compoſer of it was *John Nisbet*, one of *Argyle*'s Agents in *London*. It was dated *March* the 20th of that Year, when the Conſpiracy was in the heigth. It gives a perfect account of their Condition at

that

that time during the Tranſactions between the Engliſh and Scottiſh Traytors: Whilſt they ſometimes hoped the Treaty would take effect; ſometimes fear'd it would break off without coming to any Reſolution.

Amongſt many other myſterious intimations of Treaſon, *Nisbet* tells him, *That Trading being very low here, and many breaking daily, deſperate Diſeaſes muſt have deſperate Cures: That while they had ſome Stock left, it would be better to venture out, than to keep Shop till all be gone; for after this they ſhould not be able to act, but muſt let all go: That he had been ſhew'd a Model of Affairs, in ſuch order as he ſaw; venture they muſt, a d venture they would: That now they knew what Goods had been moſt prejudicial to the Trade: And therefore for the future, reſolv'd to inſiſt only on Negatives; this being the beſt way to ſtill ſome Criticks of the Trade: That they would firſt endeavour to diſpatch the Old Stuff: That ſome Stock was to be got, to ſet the broken Merchants up again: That if all holds that is intended, it is almoſt time to ſet forward, if they had but their Factors and Emiſſaries home, who are gone forth to try how Countries will like their Goods: That they will return within a Week: Then matters will* in inſtanti *off or on, Break, or go through: That if any ſtrange thing ſhould fall out in the mean time, he would poſt it to him: That things were full as High as he had Written.*

Theſe are ſome amongſt divers others of the Covert Significations of the Conſpiracy, contain'd in *Nisbet*'s Letter; which being taken about *Gourdon*, and ſent with him into *Scotland*, after

divers Examinations before the Council there, he plainly detected what was the true ſenſe hidden under the Myſtical Style of every Expreſſion in the whole Letter.

Particularly, That by *the Merchants here being low, and often breaking*; was meant the Proſecution of Diſſenters by Excommunications, or other legal ways: That therefore they had reſolved upon a deſperate Cure, which was riſing in Arms: That *the Model of Affairs which would make them venture*, was the Method then going on in order to a Riſing: That *by only inſiſting on Negatives*, was intended the Conſpirators agreeing what they ſhould pull down, which was the whole Government, but not determining poſitively at firſt what they ſhould ſet up: That *by Criticks in the Trade*, were deſign'd the old Scotch Fanaticks, who had ſo often rebell'd: That *Excluding the old Rotten Stuff*, was the Deſtruction of the entire Frame of the antient Conſtitution Civil and Eccleſiaſtical: That *the broken Merchants to be ſet up*, were the baffled Scotch-Whigs to be ſpirited again with new aſſiſtance: That *their being here at a point to ſet forward*, was the Engliſh Conſpirators being ready for a Rendezvous: That *the Factors and Emiſſaries*, were People ſent forth through *England* and *Scotland* to try Mens Inclinations towards a general Inſurrection: That by ſaying, *That upon thoſe Factors return, Matters would be ſoon on or off*, was intended, that when their Agents were come back to give an account of their ſucceſs, accordingly the Deſign would be either deferr'd longer, or they ſhould inſtantly riſe: That *the ſtrange thing* mention'd, was a

ſpeedy

ſpeedy Inſurrection: That *by things being full as high as he had written,* was imply'd the Rebellion was almoſt ripe, and ready to break forth.

This is the ſubſtance of the Interpretation of the *Letter of Trade* that *Gourdon* of *Earlſton* gave in upon Oath at ſeveral Examinations. He moreover confeſs'd, That upon receipt of this Letter he preſently came into *England,* where he had frequent Conferences with *Nisbet* touching the Contents of every Clauſe in it, who always underſtood it in this ſenſe: That by him and divers others he was made fully acquainted with the Treaty then going on in *London,* and with the Earl of *Argyle*'s Correſpondence with the Perſons treating for a ſpeedy Rebellion *in* both Nations.

Another Scotch-Man whoſe cleer and undoubted Teſtimony has put this Confederacy between the Engliſh and Scotch Traytors out of all Queſtion, is *William Carſtares,* who had been a Zealous and Fierce Preacher to the Sectaries of both Kingdoms: And was formerly Priſoner in *Edenburgh-Caſtle*, being accus'd for publiſhing a Treaſonable Pamphlet call'd the Grievances of *Scotland.*

At that time he was much employ'd in many Meſſages relating to this Conſpiracy: Eſpecially with Major *Holms* in diſperſing the Earl of *Argyle*'s Libellous Books, and carrying to and fro his Letters in which *Carſtares* paſs'd under the Name of *Read.*

He was apprehended at *Tenterden* in *Kent,* ſeeking an opportunity of flying beyond Sea. He was taken under the Name of *William Swan,*

then declar'd his true Name was *Moor*, but at last own'd it was *Carſtares*.

This *Carſtares* being brought before the King, and refuſing to confeſs any more than ſome general Hints; alledging, *That it was no place for him to anſwer in a Criminal Matter*; upon that he was ſent into *Scotland*, where being Examined before the Lords of the Secret Committee, *September* 8th 1684, he confeſs'd and afterwards renew'd and confirm'd the ſame Confeſſion *November* 18th, and *December* 22th of the ſame Year.

His Depoſition having been already made Publick, it will be enough only to note ſome ſpecial Heads of what he depoſed. He confeſs'd, 'That 'James Steuart, Brother to the Laird of *Cultneß*, 'wrote to him out of *Holland* in *November* or *De-* 'cember 1682, the Letter importing, that if a 'conſiderable Sum of Money could be procur'd 'from *England*, ſomething of Importance might 'be done in *Scotland*: That this Letter he Com- 'municated to *Shepard*, and he to Colonel *Syd-* 'ney, *Danvers* being preſent: That *Shepard* re- 'turn'd anſwer, Mr. *Sydney* was averſe from med- 'ling with the Earl of *Argyle*, ſuſpecting him to 'be too much inclin'd to the Royal Family, and 'the preſent Government: That the ſaid *Carſtares* 'ſtill urg'd one might be ſent to the Earl of *Ar-* 'gyle: That not being able to obtain this, for the 'foreſaid reaſon, he himſelf went into *Holland*; 'was introduced to the Earl, and there diſcours'd 'with him particularly about remitting the Mo- 'ney to him from *England*, and raiſing 1000 'Horſe and Dragoons, and ſurprizing *Edenburgh-* 'Caſtle.

'That

'That the Earls anſwer was, The Caſtles would 'fall to them of courſe, after that the Work was 'done abroad: That without a Thouſand Horſe 'and Dragoons rais'd in *England* to be ready to aſ-'ſiſt them, nothing could be done: That if ſuch 'a Number could be rais'd, he would come into '*Scotland* with them; whereby he gueſs'd he 'might get that Country without trouble, having 'ſuch a ſtanding Body for their Friends to Ren-'dezvous to.

'That the ſaid Earl of *Argyle* recommended the 'Deponent to Major *Holms*: That *James Steuart* 'contriv'd a way of Correſpondence by Cyphers 'and falſe Names, and ſent them over to *Holms*, 'and the Deponent for their uſe; and ſtill deſir'd 'him to preſs for the 30000 *l.* and did not pro-'poſe any leſs Sum, the ſaid Earl ſaying he had 'particularly calculated the Expence for Arms 'and Ammunition, *&c.* though *Steuart* added, 'If ſomething leſs could be had, the Earl would 'content himſelf.

'That when the Deponent was ready to ſhip 'for *England*, *Steuart* writ him word there was 'hope of the Mony: That the Day after he ar-'rived here he acquainted Sir *John Cockran* with 'the ſaid Earls demands of the Sum of Mony, and 'the Horſe and Dragoons: That Sir *John Cock-'ran* carried him to the Lord *Ruſſel*, to whom the 'Deponent propos'd the Affair; but being a ſtran-'ger had no anſwer from him at that time: That 'afterwards having met the Lord *Ruſſel* at *She-'pard*'s Houſe, where *Shepard* told him the ſaid 'Lord was come to ſpeak with him about the 'Mony, the Deponent reiterated to the Lord

'*Ruſſel*

'*Ruſſel* the former propoſition for 30000 *l.* and 'the 1000 Horſe and Dragoons; the ſaid Lord 'anſwering, They could not get ſuch a Sum rais'd 'at the time; but if they had 10000 *l.* to begin 'with, that would draw People in, and when 'they were once in, they would ſoon be brought 'to more; but as for the Horſe and Dragoons, 'he could ſay nothing at preſent, for that behoved 'to be concerted on the Borders.

'That the Deponent made the ſame propoſal to '*Ferguſon*, who was much concerned and Zealous 'in promoting it; and told him, he was doing 'what he could to get it effected; always blam-'ing Colonel *Sydney*, for driving on deſigns of 'his own.

'That the ſaid Deponent met twice, or thrice 'with *Melvin*, *Cockran*, *Ferviſwood*, *Monroe*, 'the two *Cambells of Ceſſnock*, *Mongomery* of '*Langſhaw* and *Veatch*, where they diſcours'd of 'Mony to be ſent to *Argyle*: That *Monroe*, *Mel-'vin*, and the *Ceſsnocks* were againſt melding with 'the Engliſh Conſpirators, as Men that would 'talk, but would not do: That therefore it were 'better for the Scots to attempt ſomething by them-'ſelves: That *Veatch*, *Ferviſwood*, and this Depo-'nent were for accepting the Mony.

'That at one of their Meetings it was agreed, 'one *Martin*, late Clerk of the Juſtice Court, 'ſhould be ſent into *Scotland* to hinder the Coun-'try from riſing, till they ſaw how Matters went 'in *England*: That the ſaid *Martin* did go at the 'Charge of the Gentlemen there met, and was 'directed to the Lairds of *Polwart* and *Torwood-'lie*, who ſent back word, It would not be ſo

'eaſie

'eaſie a matter to get the Gentry of *Scotland* to 'concur; yet that afterwards *Polwart* writ to '*Monroe*, *That the Country was readier than they* 'imagined.

'That the ſaid Deponent had the Key of the 'Cypher agreed on in his keeping, when a Let-'ter came from *Argyle* to Major *Holmes*, intimating 'that the ſaid Earl would joyn with the Duke of '*Monmouth*, follow his Meaſures, and obey his 'Directions: That for the Decyphering of this, 'he gave the Key to *Veatch*, who was to deliver 'the Letter to *Ferguſon*, and he to the Duke of '*Monmouth*.

To all this *Carſtares* added in his Depoſition of *Sept.* 18. 1684. *That he himſelf had communicated the Deſign on foot to three famous Engliſh Conventicle-Preachers*, Griffith, Mede, *and Dr.* Owen, *who*, he affirm'd, *did all concur in promoting it, and were deſirous it ſhould take effect*; which part of *Carſtares*'s Oath is the more remarkable, becauſe the King ſolemnly affirms, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, in his Confeſſion to his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs, did particularly name thoſe very three Men, as conſcious of the Plot, and withal declar'd in theſe very words, *That all the conſiderable Non-conformiſt Miniſters knew of the Conſpiracy.* An inſtance that alone, if there were not many more ſuch, were a ſufficient Inſtruction to all Separatiſts, of what tender Conſciences the Men are, whom they chuſe for the principal Guides of their Conſciences: Since after all this, *Mede* depoſed before his Majeſty, *That he never heard of any Diſturbance intended againſt the Government; but that on the contrary he himſelf had once adviſed* Ferguſon,

ſon, *upon diſcourſe of ſome Libel of his then newly made publick, That it was not their part to do ſuch things.* Nay, their great Oracle Dr. *Owen*, being examin'd upon Oath before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jones*, and being ask'd, *Whether he had not heard of a horrid Plot againſt the Life of the King?* did, not long before his Death, take God to witneſs, and ſubſcrib'd to it with his dying Hand, *That indeed he had heard of ſuch a Plot by the means of the Kings Proclamation, but no otherwiſe.*

But that which ſtill farther undeniably confirms the Scotch part of the Conſpiracy with the Engliſh, was the Confeſſion of *William Spence* a Scotch-Man, and of Major *Holmes* an Engliſh-Man, the former being a Menial Servant to the Earl of *Argyle*, the other his long Dependent and Friend; a Man active in the times of *Cromwel*, and always diſaffected to his Majeſties Government.

Major *Holmes* being taken in *London* in the beginning of the Diſcovery with ſeveral of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Original Letters about him, and being examin'd, confeſs'd *He knew of the Earl of* Argyle's *propoſing to ſome principal Men in* England, *That for* 30000 *Pounds he might be furniſh'd for his Expedition into* Scotland: *That the Engliſh at laſt condeſcended to ſend him* 10000 *Pounds: That though he had not perſonally converſt with the Great Men who were to raiſe the Money, yet he had often heard the Duke of* Monmouth, *the Lord* Gray, *the Lord* Ruſſel *named: That he himſelf was appointed by the Earl of* Argyle *to convey Letters to and from his Counteſs and others his Correſpondents: That he could not Decypher thoſe taken about him, but that* VVilliam Spence *could: That this*

Spence

Spence *went under the Name of* Butler, *and was just then come over in the Packet-Boat from* Holland, *to dispose of the Libel call'd* The Earl of *Argyle*'s Case.

This Deposition was given by Major *Holmes* on *June* 29. 1683. the very day that *Spence* being arrived from *Holland*, was apprehended under the Name of *Butler*.

Besides this Evidence of *Holmes* concerning *Spence*, it appears plainly by the Earl of *Argyle*'s own words in several passages of his Letters, taken in *Holme*'s possession, especially in that part of the long Letter of the 21 of *June*, which was not written in Cypher, *That the said* Spence, alias *B.* as he afterwards own'd himself for the Man, *knew his the said Earls Address, and how to write to him*; adding, *That he could instruct* Holmes *in this Cypher, else he had lost six hours Work.*

Wherefore upon this assurance that *Spence* could Decypher the Letters, he was examined before the King; but not confessing any thing material, and seeming resolv'd not to do it, he was sent into *Scotland*, where he was brought to discover the whole Intrigue; acknowledg'd *That he himself was the* B. *or* Butler *mention'd in the Letters: That those superscrib'd to* West *and* Robert Thomson *were directed to Major* Holmes *under those false Names: That he the said* Spence *could open the Letters, and explain the way of reading them*; which he did, and then justified upon Oath the Explanation he had made to be according to their true sense.

It happen'd also at the same time, whilst *Spence* was under close Examination, that Mr. *Gray* of

Crechie, a Scotch Gentleman skill'd in the Art of Cyphers, did, without any the leaſt Communication with *Spence*, Decypher ſome of the principal of the ſaid Earls Letters; and when both *Spence*'s and Mr. *Gray*'s Copies were found to agree exactly, there could not poſſibly have been given a more certain Demonſtration of the Truth of *Spence*'s way of Decyphering, which he confeſs'd he was taught by *Argyle* himſelf.

In this manner were theſe Letters proved Authentick, and the right meaning of them unfolded. And it is evident by the plain Tenour of them, that ſome of them were written by the ſaid Earl juſt about the time that the Conſpiracy was near ripening, and when he was inform'd of Ten Thouſand Pounds only order'd to be ſent him: Others were written after he had heard that the Plot was diſcover'd.

In every one of thoſe Papers it is eaſie to trace out manifeſt Footſteps of the whole Conſpiracy. But particularly that of *June* 21ſt *New Style*, which is *June* 11th of the Engliſh, written the very day before *Keeling* made the firſt diſcovery, contains not only a vehement Expoſtulation of the ſaid Earl of *Argyle*'s touching the delay of the Money from *England*, and the ſmallneſs of the Sum deſign'd; but a plain Narration how the Inſurrection was to be concerted in both Kingdoms.

The Body of the Letter was written in Cypher, the Preface and Poſtſcript in plain Hand; in both there is reference made to *Butler*'s, that is *Spence*'s, being able to expound it; and from the very ſame *Spence* was taken the Expoſition of it upon Oath.

Therein the ſaid Earl tells his Correſpondent in *England*, *That he knew not the Grounds their Friends had gone upon to offer ſo little Money, nor did he underſtand what Aſſiſtance they would give: That till he knew both, and heard what* Carſtares, *or any other they ſhould ſend over, had to ſay; he purpos'd neither to refuſe his ſervice, nor object againſt any thing reſolv'd here.*

However that the ſaid Earl had truly mention'd in his Propoſition formerly made the very leaſt Sum he thought could do the Buſineſs effectually; which was not half of what had been requiſite in another Juncture of Affairs: That what Money he propos'd to be rais'd, was ſo much within the Power of the Perſons concern'd, that if a little leſs could do the Buſineſs, he had thought it would not be ſtood upon: That the ſaid Earl reckon'd the Aſſiſtance of the Horſe abſolutely neceſſary for the firſt Bruſh: That as to the preciſe Number nam'd, he would not be peremptory, but he believ'd there would need that effectual Number: That 1000 *might be as eaſily rais'd as* 5 *or* 600; *and it were hard if it ſtuck at the Odds.*

That they ſhould conſider, whether all ought to be hazarded upon ſo ſmall a difference as to the Money: That though 'tis true, what was propounded is more by half than is requiſite for the firſt Weeks Work, yet ſoon after, all or more will be neceſſary; and then Arms cannot be ſent like Money by Bills.

That there are above 1200 *Horſe and Dragoons, and* 2000 *Foot at leaſt in* Scotland; *all well Appointed, and tolerably well Commanded:*

That it were hard to expect Country-People on Foot without Horse should beat them triple the Number: That if Multitudes could be got together, they would still need more Arms and more Provisions.

That if some considerable Thing be not suddenly done at the first appearing, it may fright a little, but will do no good.

That the Standing Forces will take up some Station; probably at Stirling: *That they will have for Aid not only the Militia of Twenty Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse, but all the Heritors, to the Number it may be of Fifty Thousand Men: That though many should be unwilling to fight for the Standing Forces, yet most will once joyn, and many will be as concern'd for them, as any can be against them.*

That though the said Earls Party should have at first all the success imaginable, yet it is impossible but some will keep together, and have Assistance from all the three Kingdoms; then it will not be time to call for more Arms, far less for more Money to buy them; and they should then prove like the Foolish Virgins.

That it is next to be consider'd how the discontented English Lords could employ so much Money, and so many Horse, better for their own Interest, though the Protestant Cause were not concern'd; this being a little Sum, and small Fonds to raise so many Men, and by Gods Blessing to repress the whole Power of Scotland.

That the Horse to be sent from England *need stay but a little while to do a Job, unless future Events should make* Scotland *the Seat of the War; which would be yet more to the Advantage of* England.

That

That by the beſt Husbanding the Total of the Money propoſed, it cannot purchaſe Arms and abſolute Neceſſaries for one time, for an Army of the Number they were to deal with: That nothing out of the whole is deſign'd to be beſtow'd on many things uſeful, and ſome neceſſary, as Tents, Waggons, Cloaths, Shooes, Horſe, Horſeſhooes, &c. All which are not only once to be had, but daily recruited, much leſs was any of it apportion'd to provide for Meat or Drink, Intelligence, or other incident Charges.

That ſome honeſt well-meaning good People may undertake for little, becauſe they can do little, and know little what is to be done.

That the ſaid Earl had made the Reckoning as low as if he had been to pay it all out of his own Purſe: That he was reſolv'd never to touch the Money; only to have it iſſued out according to Order: That he freely ſubmits to any knowing Souldier for the Liſts, and to any skilful Merchant for the Prices he had calculated.

That it will be a great Incouragement for Perſons of Eſtates and Conſideration to venture, when they ſhall know there is a Project and Proſpect of the whole Affair, and Neceſſaries provided for ſuch an Attempt.

That if after the ſaid Earl ſhall have ſpoken with Carſtares, *he ſees he is able to do any Service, he will be very willing; if he be not able, he will pray God ſome other may.*

That before it be given over, he wiſhes he might have ſuch a Conference as he had mentioned in another Letter a week before; wherein he had offer'd

either

either to come over privately in Perſon, or to meet any to be ſent from hence.

That he expected not all the Horſe from the diſcontented Lords, but ſome conſiderable part might be rais'd by particular Friends.

That he had yet more to add, to inforce all he had ſaid, but it could not be expreſs'd at that diſtance: That ſomething more was to be done to prevent the Deſigns of the Enemies, which he dares not now mention, leſt it ſhould put them on their Guard: That he has a conſiderable Direction in his Head, but all is in Gods Hands.

This is a faithful and impartial Abſtract of the Myſtical Letter; than which, how could there have been expreſs'd by Words a more compleat Deduction of the ſaid *Earl*'s part in the deſign'd Inſurrection?

Immediately after the Cyphers, this follows in words at large, *The Total Sum is* 128 *Guilders, and* 8 *Stivers, that will be paid you by Mr.* B.

Which laſt Clauſe was the Rule whereby Mr. *Gray* found out, and *Spence* diſcover'd the Decyphering of the whole Letter; and it was accordingly done by each of them apart, by making eight Columns, and placing 128 words in each Column deſcending, as upon view of the Authentick Printed Copies will appear to any Man beyond all Contradiction.

In ſhort, this Letter of the late *Earl* of *Argyle*'s was known by many of the Privy Council there to be his Hand; and his own Lady upon Oath depoſed, *She knew it to be his, though ſhe did not know the Contents of it.*

And

And such is the Account that is to be given of the said Earl of *Argyle*'s Loyalty, which he had desir'd might be the only Standard in what sense he would take the *Test*.

Hitherto he had been by Inheritance Lord High Admiral and Justice General of *Argyle*, *Tarbat*, and the Isles, and great Master of the Houshould. He was by his Majesty put into Places of great Dignity and Trust; he was made extraordinary Lord of the Session, one of his Majesties Privy Council, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. And after his Fathers Condemnation for the highest Crimes, and his own Forfeiture of his Honour and Estate for Treasonable Expressions in a Letter of his, he was restor'd to all his Father possess'd; except the Title of Marquiss. But notwithstanding all these, and many more Obligations of the like nature which he had to his Majesty, his fondness of esteem with the Factious People, his aversion to Monarchy, and hatred of the Royal Family, particularly of the Duke of *York*, led him to this height of Ingratitude.

This, and divers other Letters of the like traiterous importance, all written with *Argyle*'s own Hand, being at one and the same time taken about Major *Holmes*, the Person chiefly intrusted by the said Earl to receive and convey all his Correspondences with *England* and *Scotland*, it cannot be doubted but very many more Papers of the same dangerous Tenor had been this way interchang'd between him and the English and Scotch Conspirators, during the whole progress of the Conspiracy. Especially considering, that in some of these, the Earl of *Argyle* refers to some Expressions and

Pro-

Propoſitions which he ſays he had made in others; and there are no ſuch Expreſſions to be met with in all theſe Letters that are taken: Beſides that with the Letters themſelves there were alſo ſeiz'd about *Holmes* ſeveral Alphabets, and a Key of Words; whereas of one of the Alphabets there has been as yet no uſe found in Decyphering; and though in the Key there are Eighty new-coyn'd Words, yet not above Six of them are made uſe of in all the parcel of the ſaid *Earl*'s Letters hitherto intercepted.

However by the Light theſe Letters gave, ſo well agreeing with ſeveral other Intelligences receiv'd from many Hands, his Majeſties Council of *Scotland* were abundantly convinc'd that the Bloody Deſign had reach'd thither alſo; and therefore immediately order'd the bottom of the Buſineſs to be ſearch'd into by a Secret Committee. Whereupon Warrants were iſſued out there to apprehend *Walter* Earl of *Tarras*, Brother-in-Law to the Duke of *Monmouth*, Sir *Patrick Hume* Laird of *Polwart*, *Pringle* Laird of *Torwoodlie*, *James Murray* Laird of *Philiphaugh*, and *Hugh Scot* Laird of *Gallowſhiels*; all of them being Perſons named by *Carſtares* and others as Partakers with *Argyle* in this Treaſon, as they had been formerly moſt active with him, in endeavouring to diſturb the Loyal Proceedings of the Parliament for enacting the *Teſt*.

Of theſe the Laird of *Polwart* and *Torwoodlie* having been the moſt buſie, and ſo conſcious of their greater guilt, conceal'd themſelves, and have hitherto eſcaped; the other three were taken, and brought to *Edenburg*, where they freely confeſs'd

upon

upon Oath: As did also Commissary *Monroe*, who had been sent thither Prisoner out of *England*. All which Depositions and Confessions they again repeated and confirm'd in the same solemn manner at the Tryal of Mr. *William Baillie* of *Jerviswood*.

The Earl of *Tarras* without either craving, or receiving any security for himself, did ingenuously confess,

'That about the time, when Sir *John Cockran*, 'and Commissary *Monroe* got their Commission 'from the *Carolina* Company for *London*; Mr. '*Baillie* desir'd him to speak to *Monroe*, that he 'might be added to the Commission: Telling him 'that he was resolved to go to *London* however 'upon his own charges: For that his, and their 'going about the *Carolina* business was only a Pre-'tence and a Blind; but the true design was to 'push forward the People of *England*, who did 'nothing but talk, to go more effectually about 'their business.

'That thereupon the said *Baillie* did settle a cor-'respondence with the Deponent, whereby the 'one was to give an account what past between 'the Country party in *England*, and the Scotch 'Men there; the other to write back what oc-'curr'd in *Scotland*.

'That the said *Baillie* told him, the only way 'to secure the Protestant Religion, was for the 'King to suffer the Parliament to sit, and pass the 'Bill of Exclusion: Which the King might be 'induc'd to do, if the Parliament would take sharp 'and brisk Measures with him.

'That after the ſaid *Baillie* went to *London*, 'he did give the Deponent account by Letters, 'how things were in great diſorder there; but he 'hoped effectual courſes were taking to remedy 'them.

'That Mr. *Robert Martin* did come to Mr. '*Pringles* of *Torwoodlie* in *May* 1683, and brought 'the Deponent a Letter from the ſaid *Baillie* then 'at *London*.

'That *Martin* told the Deponent, things in '*England* were in great diſorder, and like to come 'to a height, but the Country Party were conſi- 'dering of Methods for ſecuring the Proteſtant 'Religion.

'That the Scotch-Men at *London* had ask'd '30000 Pounds, but that *Argyle* was to have '10000 *l.* which Sum was to be ſent by *Baillie* 'into *Holland* to buy Arms, and then *Argyle* was 'to Land with thoſe Arms in the *Weſt-Highlands* 'of *Scotland*.

'The Earl of *Tarras* depoſed farther, That *Phi-* '*liphaugh* and he went to *Gallowſhiels* Houſe, where 'they met with *Polwart* and *Gallowſhiels*.

'That there it was diſcours'd among them, 'that in caſe the Engliſh ſhould riſe in Arms, it 'was neceſſary ſo many as could be got on the Bor- 'ders, ſhould be in readineſs to deal with Strag- 'lers, and Seiſe on Horſes, and thereafter joyn 'with thoſe that were in Arms on the Borders of '*England*: That then it would be convenient to 'ſurprize *Berwick*, *Stirling*, and ſome other 'ſtrong places: That ſome Perſons ſhould be em- 'ploy'd to inquire what Arms were in the Coun- 'try: That it was reſolv'd every one ſhould

'ſpeak

'speak to, and prepare such particular Persons as 'they could trust, not at first in plain terms, but 'indirectly, and upon supposition of a Rising in '*England*: That there was a VVord and Sign to 'be used among them, the Sign was by loosing a 'Button on the Breast; the VVord was *Har-* 'mony.

'That it was agreed among them all, that the 'best time for *Argyle* to Land, was when there 'should be a Stir in *England*. *Stir* being the word 'which these Scotch Traytors and the Lord *Rus-* 'sel used to express what in plain English is call'd 'open Rebellion.

In the like manner Commissary *Alexander Monroe* depos'd upon Oath,

'That the Earl of *Tarras* did propose to him, 'that Mr. *Baillie* might be made one of the Com- 'missioners for the Affair of *Carolina*.

'That he did go along with Mr. *Baillie* to '*London*, and heard him by the way regretting 'the hazard their Laws, Liberties, and the Pro- 'testant Religion were in.

'That Mr. *Baillie* spoke to the Deponent more 'than once at *London* for getting Money from the 'English to be sent to *Argyle*, to bring home Arms 'for the said *Argyle*'s use to raise an Insurrection 'in *Scotland*.

'That in *Baillie*'s Chamber in *London*, *William* '*Veitch* a Forefault, that is, a declared Traytor, 'being present, Sir *John Cockran* did expresly speak 'of Money to be sent to *Argyle* for the foresaid 'purpose.

'That on another occasion he heard some of 'them say, there would be 20000 Men in *Scot-* 'land ready to assist the Rebellion.

'That Mr. *Robert Martin* was sent down from 'that Meeting in *Baillie*'s Chamber to *Scotland*, to 'try what the Scots would do for their own Safe- 'ty: That it was agreed the People of *Scotland* 'should rise, when there was a rising in *England*.

'That the Commission was granted to *Martin* 'by all the Persons present, who were the Lord 'Melvil, Sir *John Cockran*, the *Cessnocks* Elder 'and Younger, Mr. *William Carstares*, Mr. *Wil-* 'liam Veitch, *Fervishood*, and the Deponent, who 'did all contribute Money towards his Journey.

'That *Martin* at his return from *Scotland* 'meeting with the Deponent, told him, Matters 'were in such a Condition there, as a little would 'kindle the Fire in order to a Rebellion.

Then also *James Murray* Laird of *Philiphaugh* confess'd, and deposed upon Oath,

'That in *May* 1683. upon a Letter from Mr. '*Pringle* of *Torwoodlie* to invite him to his House, 'he came, where he found Mr. *Martin* lately 'come from *London*.

'That upon discourse *Martin* told them the 'City was much irritated through some Attempts 'upon their Privileges; but that all honest Men 'were of good heart, and very brisk.

'That *Torwoodlie* then told the Deponent, he 'expected the Earl of *Tarras*, having sent for 'him, because *Martin* had a Letter directed to 'him from *Fervishood*: *Torwoodlie* adding, That 'there were great Matters in Agitation at *London*,

'that

'that *Martin* was come down with a Commiſſion
'to their Friends here; but he was to Commu-
'nicate his Inſtructions only to *Polwart* and him-
'ſelf, who were to pitch on ſuch Perſons as they
'thought fit to intruſt with the Affair: That he
'had great confidence in the Deponent, and there-
'fore had ſent to acquaint him, that things were
'now come to a Criſis: That he had reaſon to think
'*England* would ſhortly be in Arms: That it was
'no Project of an inconſiderable Party, but a De-
'ſign through the Kingdom: That many of the
'fineſt Men, and of greateſt Intereſt and Credit
'were engaged in it there, and had agreed for
'the advancing Money to furniſh Arms here:
'That *Polwart* would be at *Gallowſhiels* that
'Night, and it would be neceſſary the Earl of
'*Tarras* and the Deponent ſhould confer with him
'fully on the Buſineſs.

'That about this time the Earl of *Tarras*
'came, who retired a little to diſcourſe with
'*Martin*.

'That then *Torwoodlie* told the Deponent, that
'although *Martin* would not Commune with
'them upon his Commiſſion directly, yet it would
'be fit they conferr'd, and without taking notice
'of his Commiſſion, diſcours'd of things as their
'own private Notions, abſtracted from any pro-
'ſpect of a preſent Deſign.

'That accordingly after Dinner they four re-
'tired to a Chamber, and after ſome general talk
'of the Diſcontents of both Kingdoms, theſe Sup-
'poſitions following were diſcours'd of, *Martin*
'ſtarting all, or moſt of them.

If

If the Country Party in England *should have thoughts of going into Arms, what could be expected here in such a case?*

Would it not be expedient to have a setled Correspondence between that Party there, and here?

Might it not be so adjusted, that both Kingdoms should draw out in one day?

Might not as many be expected in these Shires, and about Edenburgh, *as would surprize the Rulers, and some to joyn with the English on the Borders, and seize on* Berwick, *others to attempt* Stirling-Castle?

If Argyle *should at the same time Land in the* VVest, *and raise that Country, would not these Measures contribute much to the Advancement and Interest of the Party? Incourage all that had an Inclination to them, and scare many others from acting against them? And so they might have leisure to joyn from all places. And then might it not be expected there would be as many in this Kingdom, as would be able to deal with the Forces here, at least divert them from troubling* England?

These Queries being propos'd, it was answered, 'That as to setling a Correspondence, it was 'very convenient for those of a Common Interest, 'but none could be found here fit to manage it that 'would undertake it.

'That as to *trysting*, that is to say, Rising at the 'same time, that could not be done without di-'vulging the Design to all Ranks of People, which 'none would consent to, except those already in 'desperate Circumstances, and they would not ge-'nerally have much Influence.

'That

'That the thing was not at all adviſeable for '*Scotland*, becauſe if thoſe in *England*, eſpecial-'ly in *London*, the Spring of their motions, 'ſhould happen to have an Interruption near the 'time appointed, then the Scots not having timely 'notice, might riſe alone, and ſo be expos'd as a 'Prey.

'That *Argyle*'s coming was not much to be re-'lied on, by reaſon of the uncertainty of Sea-Voy-'ages: That he might himſelf be ſuſpected of pri-'vate Deſigns; that deſpair might blind his uſual 'prudence, and prompt him to indigeſted Me-'thods; ſo it was expected few of the Gentry, but 'ſuch as were under very hard Circumſtances, 'would embarque with him. That as to the 'ſurprizing their Rulers, it was inveigh'd aga nſt, 'as an Action not to be thought of amongſt Pro-'teſtants.

'That then *Martin* told the Company, if any 'had a mind for a ſuit of Armour, he could pro-'vide as many as pleas'd, of a new Faſhion, ve-'ry light, and of an eaſie rate, from one who 'had made a great many lately for honeſt Men 'in *London*.

'That then all the Company except *Martin*, 'went to *Gallowſhiels* Houſe, where they met him 'and *Polwart*.

'That after Supper, having given and recei-'ved mutual aſſurance that they were free to 'commune with *Gallowſhiels*, and he with them, 'touching matters of great Secrecy and Impor-'tance, they ſate cloſe together, *Polwart* begin-'ning the diſcourſe:

'And

'And ſignifying to them, he was credibly in-
'form'd that the Country Party in *England* would
'draw into the Fields ſhortly, and as he heard,
'before *Lammas*: That *Gallowſhiels* ſeem'd viſibly
'ſurpriz'd at it, ſaying he loved better to be walk-
'ing in his own Parks than to be medling in ſuch
'matters: However aſſuring them, if there came
'any troubleſome work, he would joyn with
'them firmly.

'That the Earl of *Tarras* alſo diſapproved of
'doing any thing during the Kings Life; becauſe
'that might ſtrengthen the Dukes Intereſt: That
'therefore he ſuſpected it was a project of the
'Common-Wealths-Men, with whom he belie-
'ved few Scotch Gentlemen would joyn; and that
'he was almoſt perſuaded the Duke of *Mon-*
'*mouth* would not concur in any Riſing during the
'Kings Life.

'That to all this *Polwart* anſwer'd, he heard
'the Engliſh had once agreed on that Principle,
'but it ſeem'd they found they muſt either do
'their buſineſs now, or lay aſide all hopes of do-
'ing it hereafter. For if the Charter of *London*
'were let fall, they ſhould not only loſe all ſafe
'Opportunity of digeſting Matters, but alſo a
'great part of their Strength: Adding that he
'heard all things were concerted mutually between
'*Monmouth*'s Friends, and the Heads of the Com-
'mon-Wealth Party; and though *Monmouth*
'was ſhy on that account, yet he hoped he would
'engage, or he would be deſerted by that Par-
'ty.

'That then *Polwart* mentioned the former
'Queries, as overtures agreed on between other

'Friends

'Friends in *London*, and the Principal Men of 'that Party there.

'That the Earl of *Tarras* and the Deponent 'repeated their former anſwers, *Gallowſhiels* joyn-'ing forwardly with them.

'That *Polwart* replied, He was fully of their 'Opinion, if things were entire, but refer'd it to 'be conſider'd, whether it were not better to com-'ply with ſome of theſe Methods, though not ſo 'juſtifiable as could be wiſh'd, rather than diſap-'point the buſineſs totally.

'That there was another argument urg'd againſt 'riſing with the *Engliſh*, becauſe it was talk'd 'there had been a Day appointed in *England* in '*Shaftsbury*'s time, which did not hold; ſo they 'were not to be relied on.

'That then it was propoſed to be deliberated 'what Methods were moſt proper in the Compa-'nies Opinion for *Scotland* to follow, in caſe of '*Englands* Riſing firſt.

'That it was ſaid, All that could be expected 'or deſired from *Scotland* was, that upon certain 'News of *Englands* being in the Field, thoſe of 'the Southern Shires ſhould preſently riſe, and as 'ſoon as ſo many could convene, as would be able 'to deal with ſtragling Parties, March to joyn the 'Engliſh on the Borders, that then it would be 'ſeaſonable for *Argyle* to Land in the Weſt; 'and theſe Parties on the Borders might divert 'the Forces, till he had time to put himſelf into 'a poſture.

That it was left to *Polwart* to Commune with 'others to this purpoſe.

'That all the Company seem'd to agree, they 'should move nothing in the Affair, till they had 'a certain account what *England* propos'd, and 'who were to be their Heads; that if they de- 'sign'd any thing against the Kings Person, or 'for overturning Monarchy, they should not be 'clear to joyn.

'That it was recommended to all the Com- 'pany, to be inquiring indirectly about the affe- 'ctions of their Neighbours, and what Arms 'were amongst them; that so, if they should 'resolve to joyn with the English, they might 'know where to seek Men and Arms sudden- 'ly.

'That here it was said by one, (by *Polwart* as 'the Deponent thinks) That if the Earl of *Tar- 'ras*, *Torwoodlie*, *Gallowshiels*, and he took Horse, 'most part of *Tiviot-Dale* and *Selkirk-Shire* 'would soon come to them, especially when they 'heard that *England* was risen.

'That they all agreed to meet there again at '*Midsummer*-Fair, when the account from *Eng- 'land* might be expected; but in case it came to 'any of their hands sooner, each promis'd to 'advertise the rest.

The Deponent farther added, he was told in private by *Polwart* or *Torwoodlie*,

'That *Polwart* kept Correspondence with their 'Friends at *London*, naming the Lord *Melvil*, Sir '*John Cockran*, *Jerviswood*, and Commissary '*Monroe*.

'That the Money to be advanc'd by the Eng- 'lish Party to *Scotland*, was ready when *Martin* 'left *London*.

'That

'That it was expected within few days after, 'it would be diſpatch'd with ſome Confident to 'Holland; that it was 10000 *l.* and was to be em-'ploy'd by that Confident at *Argyle*'s ſight, for 'buying of Arms, and providing Shipping to 'tranſport them with *Argyle*.

'That as ſoon as the Scots at *London* got Notice 'of their Confidents arrival in *Holland*, and that 'all other things were concluded with the Engliſh, 'which might be about the middle of *June*, then 'they would come down into *Scotland*, and give 'them a particular Account of all Reſolutions 'taken.

'That the Deponent was told all Letters were 'written by both Parties, as about the *Carolina* 'Buſineſs, or concerning ſome Houſhold-Furni-'ture: That there was a Sign and a Word agreed 'on, that they might know with whom to uſe 'freedom; the Word was *Harmony*, and the Sign 'was the *Opening of Buttons on the Breaſt-Coat, and 'ſhutting them preſently*.

'That the Deponent never ſaw it uſed, except 'when he viſited *Parkhay* in *Edenburgh* about the 'end of *June*; who asking whether he had the 'Word and Sign of the *Carolina*-Men, and the 'Deponent having given them, ſaid, *He was 'afraid the* Carolina *Buſineſs did not go well, for 'there had been ſome of the Managers expected 'there eight days paſt, but none were come: Nor 'could he learn any of their Friends had heard from 'them for ſeveral Poſts*.

The ſaid *James Murray* of *Philiphaugh* depoſed farther, 'That at their Meeting at *Gallowſhiels* it 'was reſolv'd they ſhould keep their Ceſs or Tax

'unpaid till their next Meeting at *Midſummer*, 'and ſhould deal with all thoſe they had Influ-'ence upon to do the like, and that upon the Sup-'poſition mention'd in his former Oath.

Next, *Hugh Scot* Laird of *Gallowſhiels* confeſs'd and depoſed, *That the Earl of* Tarras *and* Philiphaugh *did come to his Houſe in* May 1683. *That* Polwart *came likewiſe thither, where there were Diſcourſes and Propoſals, That if the Engliſh did riſe in Arms, their Friends in the* South-Shires *ſhould riſe with them: That they ſhould ſeize the Horſes belonging to the Kings Troops where they grazed, and attempt the Town of* Berwick, *and the Caſtle of* Stirling.

That it was likewiſe there diſcours'd of the late Earl of Argyle's *coming to invade* Scotland; *but becauſe of the uncertainty of Sea-Voyages, there was not much ſtreſs laid upon it.*

That it was alſo propoſed, ſuch of the South-Country *whom they truſted ſhould be acquainted with it: That Endeavours ſhould be uſed to learn what Arms were in the Country: That the Earl of* Tarras, Philiphaugh, Torwoodlie, Polwart, *and ſome others ſhould draw to Horſe with the firſt, when the riſing ſhould be in a readineſs; and that it might be expected the South parts of* Tiviot-Dale *and* Selkirk-Shire *would joyn with them.*

The ſaid *Gallowſhiels* had alſo depoſed before the Lords of the Secret Committee, *That the Earl of* Tarras *and* Philiphaugh *being in his Houſe in* May, *diſcours'd of an intended Riſing in* England, *and in* London *in particular, and of Propoſals made to the* Scots *to riſe with them: That* Polwart *was*

there

there present, and told them he was sure the English intended so; That they discours'd it was fit to seize Berwick *and* Stirling: *It was also talk'd of bringing the Duke of* York *to his Tryal.*

The said *Gallowshiels* deposed farther before the Lords of the Committee, *That in the Month of* May 1683. *the Earl of* Tarras, Hume *of* Polwart *the Elder, and the Laird of* Philiphaugh *came to the Deponents House, where they spake of the security of the Protestant Religion, and of a Party in* England *who would secure or seize the King or Duke: That if any should rise in Arms to defend or rescue them, there was another Party who would rise against them.*

That it was proposed some Country-men should be spoken to, to try their Resolutions: That it was likewise proposed to seize the Officers of State.

That it was there said, Sir John Cockran *was to come to the West from* England *to advance the Design: That the Earl of* Argyle *was to Land in the West* Highlands *to raise that Country.*

That of these Matters all that were present discours'd, as of an Affair they were agitating, and wherein themselves were particularly concern'd.

These several plain and full Proofs, together with the Depositions of *Carstares* before mentioned, being also strengthen'd by the Confessions of *Thomas Shepard* and *Zachary Bourn*, and all exhibited at the Tryal of *William Baillie* of *Jerviswood*, were not only over-abundantly sufficient to convince the Person accused of his particular share in the Guilt; but they also remain as so many standing and indubitable Testimonies of the Truth of

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the whole Conſpiracy between the Engliſh, and Scotch Rebels.

After all this, how is it poſſible that the moſt audacious of the Factious Party of both Nations, notwithſtanding their being ſo expert in driving on the Trade of Lying and traducing their Governours, ſhould ever have any tolerable colour of probability to invalidate or diſcredit the undoubted Evidence of ſo many Witneſſes, moſt of them Men of high Quality, great Eſtates, potent Intereſts; all of them Zealous and indefatigable aſſertors of the Rebellious Cauſe; and this Evidence given in by them at firſt voluntarily, and often again reiterated, and adher'd to, againſt *Baillie* their Chief Companion in Iniquity, their near Kinſman and Friend?

As for *Baillie* of *Jerviſwood* himſelf, the Perſons who paſs'd upon his Aſſize did with one Voice find the Crimes of Art and part in the Conſpiracy, and of concealing and not revealing the ſame, clearly proved againſt him. Whereupon he was adjudg'd to ſuffer the Puniſhment of a Traytor: His Life and Death being ſuch as might be expected from the Nephew and Son-in-Law of the Old Arch Traytor *Warriſton*, in whoſe Family he was bred up, and tutor'd under his Diſcipline, according to his Principles.

Such were the chief Steps the Scotch Conſpirators had made in their part of the Treaſonable Deſign, as far as through the Divine Favour it has been hitherto traced out by the Extraordinary Diligence, Wiſdom and Integrity of his Majeſties preſent Miniſters in that Kingdom. For the Readers clearer comprehending the whole progreſs of

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the Villany, the King thought beſt to have it thus repreſented in one view, and put all together in an uninterrupted courſe of Narration: Though by this Method divers things have been already ſpoken of, which in the natural courſe of time happen'd after the ſeveral material paſſages, that remain yet unmention'd, relating to the Engliſh part of the Conſpiracy.

Wherefore, to return to the Year 1683, and to what happen'd in *England* that Summer, ſhortly after the firſt Diſcovery; His Majeſty having now received irreſiſtible Proof of the certainty of the VVicked and unnatural Deſign, that the VVorld might have the like conviction, reſolv'd ſpeedily to bring ſome of the moſt Notorious Malefactors to a fair and open Tryal.

The firſt Perſon who was put upon juſtifying himſelf, was Lieutenant Colonel *Thomas Walcot*, on the Twelfth of *July* of that Year. Againſt him divers VVitneſſes were produced, who, in their Depoſitions, firſt gave ſome diſtinct account of the Plot in General, and then of the particular ſhare the Priſoner at the Bar had in it.

As to what concern'd *Walcot* himſelf, Colonel *Romzey* firſt depoſed, That the ſaid *Walcot* came out of *Holland* with *Ferguſon* after *Shaftsbury*'s Death: That he came to *Weſt*'s Chamber where he was preſent when a Liſt was brought of the Aſſaſſines, and agreed to joyn with them, intending to Command a Party to charge the Guards: That he undertook to go and view *Rumbald*'s Houſe, and bought a Horſe for that purpoſe: That he was preſent at the dividing of *London* into twenty parts in order to an Inſurrecti-

on;

on; and at the Conſult for buying of Arms after the diſappointment at the *Rye*: That he was at the Meeting for carrying on the Conſpiracy on *Thurſday* before the Diſcovery: That after it they met at Captain *Tracies*, *Walcot*'s own Lodgings, himſelf being preſent.

Next *Joſiah Keeling* ſwore that *Walcot* was at the Trayterous Aſſembly at the *Salutation-Tavern*, when the Deponent was called *Gulick*, and a Health drunk to the Engliſh *Gulick*; *Weſt* ſaying that *Gulick* in Dutch was *Keeling* in Engliſh; adding, *He hoped to ſee* Keeling *at the Head of as good an Army at* Wapping, *as it was reported one* Gulick *was then at* Cologne.

Then *Zachary Bourn* witneſſed, That *Walcot* uſed to come to *Ferguſon* when he lodg'd at his Houſe: That *Walcot* and ſeveral others met at the Dragon on *Snow-Hill*, and often in other places, in order to raiſe Men, and divide the City into Twenty parts for ſecuring the King and the Duke: That almoſt every time they met, at leaſt three times, the Priſoner at the Bar was there: That he was at the Meeting at *Tracies*, where they debated of *ſtanding to it with Swords in their Hands, and of killing* Keeling *for having made the Diſcovery*.

Robert Weſt's Teſtimony concerning him went ſomewhat farther back. He depoſed, That he became acquainted with *Walcot* the Summer before, when he told the Deponent the *Carolina* Buſineſs was only a Pretence; That he ask'd the Deponent upon the Election of the Sheriffs, *Will the People do nothing to ſecure themſelves?* Thereupon acquainting him with an Inſurrection then

deſign'd

deſign'd within three weeks or a month : That *Shaftsbury* was in the Deſign, and had engaged him alſo : That he had an Expectation of being Colonel of Horſe ; asking the ſaid *Weſt*, *Whether he would have any Command under him ?* That upon his refuſal, he deſired him to lend him a Suit of Silk Armour : That the ſaid *Walcot* told him of ſeveral Deſigns to Attack the King and the Duke : That in the Buſineſs of the *Rye*, he undertook to Command the Party that was to ſet upon the Guards : That after the Diſappointment, he met with the other Conſpirators, where they diſcours'd of it, and complain'd they had not Arms in readineſs : That he ſometimes made one in the Traiterous Diſcourſes at the Deponents, and at the Young-Devil-Tavern : That he was preſent at the Meeting at *Tracies* relating to their eſcape ; the Priſoner at the Bar himſelf then ſaying, *God would ſtill deliver the Nations.*

His Letter to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* was alſo produced, which he was proved to have own'd before the Council to be his Hand. The ſubſtance of it being, That he was come to Town to lay himſelf at his Majeſties Feet : That this was the firſt Crime he had been Guilty of ſince the Kings Return, and too ſoon by much now : That he was ready to diſcover to his Majeſty all that he knew in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, which might be ſomething more than the firſt Diſcoverer could acquaint him with, eſpecially as to *Ireland* : That his intimacy with a Scotch Miniſter, through whoſe Hands much of the Buſineſs paſs'd, occaſioned his knowing very much ; and that it was laid very broad, or he was miſ-in-

form'd; concluding with a Propoſal that he would follow the Traytors who were fled, and give notice what Meaſures they ſhould take; with other the like Expreſſions.

There was likewiſe a Paper given in Evidence that was taken about him in *Newgate*; wherein he deſir'd *Romzey* and *Weſt* to ſpare him, ſaying, *They had Ground enough to ſerve the King upon other Men.*

But as to his private Confeſſion to the King upon his firſt Examination, that was not produc'd againſt him, though in that he had told divers new Particulars of the Conſpiracy, and named the Men of Quality who had undertaken to raiſe the ſeveral Shires.

Againſt all this *Walcot*'s Defence only conſiſted in his own denial of having had any Hand in the Aſſaſſination; ſaying, 'He knew well enough, 'if he ſhould have undertaken to Charge the 'Guards whilſt others Kill'd the King, he was 'equally Guilty with thoſe that Kill'd him; but 'that he was ſick of the Gout during the Meet-'ings whilſt the King was at *Newmarket*: More-'over, that thoſe Witneſſes were ſufficiently 'dipped themſelves, and ſwore againſt him to 'ſave their own Lives: That *Goodenough* and '*Rumbald* he never knew: That the laſt Meet-'ing at his Lodgings was appointed by *Romzey*, 'he himſelf knowing nothing of it: That he came 'accidentally to the other Meetings only to hear 'News. He confeſſed he heard there was a De-'ſign amongſt divers great Lords and Gentlemen 'for aſſerting Liberties and Properties; but that 'he was not at their Conſultations. The Sum

'was,

'was, that he had heard a great deal of an In-
'ſurrection, but had no hand in it, and therefore
'his fault could be only Miſpriſion of Treaſon.
'And as to his Letter, he alledged he had only
'heard what he promiſed to diſcover from *Fer-*
'*guſon.*

To the moſt material parts of this Defence, it was anſwer'd by his Majeſties Learned Council at Law, That there is nothing more juſt than to make uſe of ſome Traytors to Convict others, elſe Treaſon might be hatch'd moſt ſecurely: That becauſe the Witneſſes had been concern'd in the Plot, therefore they were to be believed; for who ſhould know it but thoſe that were concern'd? That better Witneſſes could not have been had, except the thing had ſucceeded: That the very being at Treaſonable Conſults, and keeping them private, is not only Miſpriſion, but High Treaſon. And as to his having the Gout, *Weſt* told him, he remember'd it very well by a good token, that *Walcot* himſelf ſaid, *He was afraid when the time came, he ſhould not be able to draw on his Boot.*

But the whole Evidence againſt *Walcot* being clear and poſitive Teſtimony, and what he pleaded for himſelf being only his own ſingle Affirmation and Negation, without any ſupport of Witneſſes, the Jury immediately brought him in Guilty of High Treaſon. According to which Sentence he was Executed on the 20th of the ſaid Month. At the time of his Execution he again acknowledg'd what he had told the King, and writ to the Secretary of State, 'That the Buſineſs was laid
'very deep; he ſaid, An Act of Indulgence

'would do well, becauſe the King had a great 'many Men to take Judgment of: He perſiſted, 'he was to have had no hand in his Majeſties 'Death, though he confeſs'd it was propoſed when 'he was preſent: He declared he did not know 'that this Conſpiracy was older than the *Auguſt* 'or *September* before: but ſo old he own'd it was.

The next Offender that came under the Stroak of Juſtice, was *William Hone* a Joyner, who being brought to the Bar, would preſently have confeſs'd himſelf guilty of great part of the Accuſation. But refuſing to confeſs all, he was requir'd to plead, and the next day was brought on his Tryal. Then again he deſir'd he might retract his Plea, and offer'd to plead Guilty. But ſince he would not own the whole Indictment, for Satisfaction of the World the Evidence againſt him was produced.

Joſiah Keeling ſwore, That the Priſoner at the Bar was at the Dolphin-Tavern, when ſeveral ſorts of Arms were agreed on to be provided under the borrow'd names of *Swan-Quills*, *Gooſe-Quills*, *Crow-Quills*: That after that Meeting, *Hone* told the Deponent, He was to be one of them who were to go down to the *Rye* to Aſſaſſinate the King. That he ſince alſo told him, It would never be well till the *Black-Bird* and the *Gold-Finch* were knock'd on the Head; explaining thoſe terms to be meant of the King and the Duke. To which VVitneſs *Hone* reply'd in open Court, *That as to the* Black-Bird *he own'd it, but not as to the* Gold-Finch.

Then *Weſt* depoſed, That *Goodenough* having told him he would try *Hone*, whether he would attempt

attempt on the Duke without the King, the Deponent ask'd *Hone*, VVhether he had ſeen *Goodenough*? He anſwer'd, He had, and that he had ſpoken to him about a job for the Duke. That at another time alſo *Hone* ask'd the Deponent, *Maſter, ſhall we do nothing?* Adding, *That if the Duke of* Monmouth *would be true, and appear, he would bring* 50 *or* 60 *Men from the other ſide of the Water, to help to do the Buſineſs.* And that the Deponent demanding what Buſineſs? He anſwer'd, *A brisk Puſh at the two Brothers.* That being further queſtion'd, VVhat Brothers? He ſaid, *The Captain and Lieutenant*; which were the counterfeit Names they ſometimes uſed for the King and the Duke.

Then Sir *Nicholas Butler* depoſed, He had known *Hone* many years, and always knew him guilty of plotting, contriving, and ready for ſuch Enterpriſes as this: particularly that he had propoſed taking off the King and the Duke with Croſs-Bows from *Bow-Steeple*, whilſt they were ſtanding in a Houſe directly over againſt it on the Lord Mayors Day: That *Hone* confeſs'd this very thing when examined before his Majeſty: That he had alſo acquainted divers Perſons, that he was to make one to kill the King and the Duke.

Then Captain *Richardſon* ſwore, that the Priſoner confeſs'd to Sir *Nicholas Butler*, in his preſence, that *Goodenough* came to him and told him, he wanted Labourers; That *Hone* asking him for what? *Goodenough* ſaid it was to kill the King, and the Duke: That he did agree to be one of the Number: That *Hone* did ſay another time,

time, he was for killing the King, and ſaving the Duke; but that *Goodenough* was for both: That he told them of the buſineſs of the *Rye*, calling it the place where the King was to have been Murder'd.

To all this *Hone* made no other anſwer, but that he was drawn in by *Goodenough*; and as for killing the King from *Bow-ſteeple*, he was told of it by another. So the Jury found him Guilty without going out of the Court.

At his Execution, he own'd himſelf Guilty of the Crime for which he ſtood condemn'd; Only alledging again, That he was drawn in. He confeſs'd alſo, he did ſay he was for killing the King, and ſaving the Duke of *York*.

On which laſt Expreſſion the Factious Party immediately laid hold. And they have ſince moſt impudently made uſe of it in their Libels, both at home and abroad, to take the Aſperſion of this Conſpiracy off from themſelves, inſinuating that this ſaying of *Hones* (a Notorious Fanatick) muſt needs prove him to have been a conceal'd Papiſt. Whereas it is apparent, he ſaid it upon a quite different account: Since it was a common opinion among them, That if they could but do the Kings buſineſs, their work againſt the Duke would be much eaſier: A Leſſon firſt taught them by their great Maſter the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. For when in one of their Traytorous Cabals, among other Conſiderations of time and place for killing the Royal Brothers, that between *Hampton-Court* and *Windſor* was propoſed, and ſome excepted againſt it, becauſe his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs ſeldom went that way together;

gether; the ſaid Earl adviſed them not to ſtand upon that, and not to omit the opportunity of making the King away for any ſuch Objection; giving this wicked reaſon for his advice, *That if the King were once diſpatched, they ſhould eaſily be able to deal with the Duke of* York; grounding his Judgment on a moſt falſe Suppoſition, that the People were generally averſe from his Royal Highneſs.

The next Criminal arraign'd was *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, who was brought to his Tryal *July* the 13*th* of that year.

Againſt him Colonel *Romzey* depoſed, 'That 'in the end of *October*, or the beginning of *No-* 'vember 1683. there met at Mr. *Shepard*'s Houſe 'in *Abchurch-Lane*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the 'Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Arm-* 'ſtrong and *Ferguſon*: That the Earl of *Shafts-* 'bury deſired him to go to them thither, to know 'what reſolution was taken about the Riſing of 'Taunton: That he did go, Mr. *Shepard* carri- 'ed him up where they were, and he deliver'd his 'Meſſage; That the Anſwer was, *Mr.* Tren- 'chard *had fail'd them; and there could be no more* 'done in the matter at that time: That there was 'at the ſame time a diſcourſe by all the Company 'about ſeeing what poſture the Guards were in, 'that they might know how to ſurprize them; 'That ſome of them undertook to go and ſee: 'That my Lord *Ruſſel* in particular did ſpeak 'about the Riſing, and gave his conſent to it.

Then Mr. *Shepard* ſwore, 'That in *October* 'laſt, *Ferguſon* requeſted of him, in the Duke

'of

'of *Monmouth*'s Name, the conveniency of his 'Houſe, for ſome Perſons of Quality to meet in; 'That the ſame Day in the Evening the Duke of '*Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, '*Armſtrong* and *Ferguſon* came: That they deſir'd 'to be private, and none of his Servants to come 'up: That their diſcourſe was, How to ſurprize 'the Guards: That the Duke of *Monmouth*, 'the Lord *Gray* and *Armſtrong* went one Night 'to the *Mues* to view them: That the next 'time they came, *Armſtrong* ſaid, *The Guards 'were remiſs, and the thing was feaſible*: That 'they had two Meetings of this kind at his Houſe; 'That in one of them ſomething was read by *Fer-'guſon* in the nature of a Declaration, ſetting forth 'the Grievances of the Nation in order to a Ri-'ſing: That he could not ſay poſitively the Lord '*Ruſſel* was there when it was read; but the ſaid 'Lord was there, when they talk'd of ſeizing the 'Guards.

Then the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* gave his Depoſition, conſiſting of two parts, a general Declaration of what he knew of the whole Conſpiracy, and his particular Evidence touching the Lord *Ruſſel*'s being engaged in it.

In the general part, his Teſtimony was agreeable to what has been already cited out of his Confeſſion to his Majeſty; only in ſome paſſages he was more particular as to Perſons, eſpecially concerning Lieutenant Colonel *Walcot*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Gray*, and the Duke of *Monmouth*, as appears by the Printed Tryal.

But what peculiarly related to the Lord *Ruſſel* was to this effect; That after the Earl of *Shafts-*

bury's

bury's Flight, the chief Perſons concern'd in the Conſpiracy in his time, began to conſider they had gone ſo far it would be unſafe for them to make a retreat; and that ſo great an Affair conſiſting of ſo many Particulars, which were to be manag'd with ſo much fineneſs, it would be neceſſary to have ſome General Council: That therefore they reſolv'd to erect a Cabal among themſelves, which was made up of ſix Perſons, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Algernoon Sydney*, Mr. *Hambden* Junior, and the Deponent: That this was about the middle of the *January* before: That then they met at Mr. *Hambden*'s Houſe, where it was preſently agreed, their proper Province was to take care of the whole: That the chief things they debated were, VVhether the Inſurrection ſhould begin firſt in *London* or the Country; the Duke of *Monmouth* inſiſting, it ſhould be firſt in the Country; then what Countries and Towns were fitteſt, and moſt ready for Action; then, what Arms were to be got, and how to be diſpoſed; then that it was neceſſary to have a common Bank of 25 or 30000 *l.* to anſwer the occaſions of ſuch an Undertaking; but that the greateſt point was to order it ſo, as to draw *Scotland* into a conſent with them; becauſe it was requiſite all diverſion ſhould be given to the Kings Forces.

That about Ten Days after every one of the ſame perſons met again at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Houſe: That they then came to a reſolution, of ſending ſome Perſons to the Earl of *Argyle*, to ſettle an Underſtanding with him, and that a Meſ-

ſenger ſhould be diſpatch'd into *Scotland*, to invite ſome Scotch-Men hither, who beſt underſtood the Eſtate of *Scotland*, to give an account of it: That the Perſons agreed on to be ſent for were Sir *John Cockran*, the Lord *Melvil*, and one of the Name of *Cambel*: That to this purpoſe it was order'd, a Perſon ſhould be thought on that was to be ſent: That Colonel *Sydney* was intruſted to take care of that buſineſs: That the ſaid Colonel told the Deponent, he had ſent *Aaron Smith*: That then they agreed not to meet again till the return of the Meſſenger; who was gone about a Month before they heard any thing of him; though the Letter he carried, could have done no great hurt, had it been taken, becauſe it was VVritten in a kind of a Cant, under the diſguiſe of a Plantation in *Carolina*: That all this Debate at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s went without contradiction, all there preſent giving their conſent: That as for raiſing Money, every one was put to think of ſuch a way, that Money might be collected without Adminiſtring Jealouſie: That after this the Deponent met no more with them; but when he return'd out of the Country, he was inform'd *Aaron Smith* was come back, and that Sir *John Cockran* was alſo come to Town.

Then *Attherbury* the Kings Meſſenger depoſed, that the foreſaid *Cambel* and his Son were taken in *London*, making their eſcape out of a VVindow in a Woodmongers Houſe, four Days after they had been in Town; during which ſpace, they confeſs'd they had chang'd their Lodgings three Times, and that they and Mr. *Baillie* of *Jerviſwood* came to Town together.

Againſt

Againſt this Evidence the Lord *Ruſſel*'s defence (beſides ſome Objections in point of Law, wherein he was over-ruled by the Opinion of all the Judges there preſent) was to this purpoſe:

'That the two times they met, was upon no 'form'd Deſign, only to talk of News, and of 'things in general: That the Lord *Howard* ha-'ving a voluble Tongue, they delighted to hear 'him diſcourſe: That he knew of no ſuch Coun-'cil of Six choſen, for who ſhould chuſe them? 'That the Witneſſes againſt him ſwore to ſave 'their own Lives, and therefore could not be cre-'dible: That *Romzey* was notoriouſly known to 'have been highly obliged by the King and the 'Duke; and it was ſtrange he ſhould be capable 'of ſuch a Deſign as to Murder the King; that 'no Body then could wonder, if to ſave his own 'Life, he ſhould endeavour to take away ano-'thers: That the time by the 13th of the King 'was elapſed, ſince the Proſecution was not made 'in the ſix Months: That a Deſign of Levying 'War is no Treaſon, except it appear by ſome 'Overt Act: That there was but one Meeting at '*Shepard*'s Houſe, nor was he ever there but once: 'That then he came late, ſtaid not above a quar-'ter of an hour, taſting Sherry with *Shepard*; and 'that there ought to be two Witneſſes to one and 'the ſame thing at the ſame time.

Then he produced Witneſſes to prove that the Lord *Howard*, before he was taken, declar'd *He believ'd the Lord* Ruſſel *innocent, and knew nothing againſt him.*

The reſt of his Juſtification conſiſted of the Teſtimony of ſeveral Perſons concerning the Virtue and Sobriety of his former Life.

As to what concern'd the Lord *Howard*'s ſaying, *He believed the Lord* Ruſſel *not to be guilty*; it was anſwer'd by the Lord *Howard* himſelf, 'That 'he confeſs'd he had ſaid ſo, being then himſelf not 'accuſed, ſo that he intended to out-face the thing 'both for himſelf and the Party; but now his 'Duty to God, the King and his Country re-'quir'd it, he muſt ſay the Truth; and that though 'the Council of Six were not choſen by any 'Community, yet they did erect themſelves by 'mutual Agreement one with another into that 'Society.

The reſt was anſwer'd by the Kings Learned Council at Law, 'That he was not Try'd upon 'the 13th of the King, but upon the 25th of '*Edward* the Third: That to Raiſe a Conſpi-'racy within the Kingdom is what is call'd Le-'vying War by that Statute: That to deſign to 'ſeize on the King, or to depoſe him, or to raiſe 'the Subjects againſt him, hath been ſetled by ſe-'veral Reſolutions of the Judges to be within that 'Statute, and Evidences of a Deſign to kill the 'King: That in Caſes of Treaſon, it is not ne-'ceſſary there ſhould be two Witneſſes to the 'ſame individual Fact, at the ſame time; but if 'there be two Witneſſes of things tending to the 'ſame Fact, though at ſeveral times, and upon 'ſeveral occaſions, it is ſufficient: That if there 'be one Witneſs of one Act of Treaſon, another 'of a ſecond, another of a third, they will be 'enough to Convict a Man of High Treaſon:

'That

'That ſo it was determin'd by the Opinion of all 'the Judges in *England*, and by the Lords in Par-'liament in the Lord *Stafford*'s Caſe.

It was farther urged, 'That the VVitneſſes 'againſt the Lord *Ruſſel* were not profligate Per-'ſons, nor Men who wanted Faith and Credit 'before that time; but ſuch againſt whom there 'had been no legal Exceptions made by himſelf; 'That there was no Contradiction, no Corre-'ſpondence or Contrivance at all between them; 'and that it cannot be imagined ſuch Men ſhould 'Damn their own Souls to take away the Life of 'a Gentleman, againſt whom they had no Quar-'rel.

As for *Romzey*'s being much obliged to the King and the Duke, 'That it was apparent by 'many Inſtances, that no ſuch, though the great-'eſt Obligations, had hinder'd ill Men from Con-'ſpiring againſt his Majeſty. For was not the Earl 'of *Eſſex*, were not divers others of the Conſpi-'rators in like manner obliged, and advanced in 'Eſtate and Honour by the King?

As to their coming only to *Shepard*'s to taſte 'Wine, it was ſaid, 'That could not have been 'the end of their Meeting: Why did they then 'come ſo privately? Why then did they order 'none of the Servants to come up? It was plain 'the Deſign they met on, requir'd only ſuch Per-'ſons to be preſent as had an Affection for the 'Cauſe.

It was alſo urg'd, 'That it is not a good Ob-'jection againſt a Mans being Evidence in High 'Treaſon, that he himſelf was engaged in it; 'but that ſuch Men are the moſt proper Perſons to

'be

'be Evidence, none but they being able to detect 'ſuch Counſels.

As for the ſeveral Divines, and Men of Honour and Quality produced to teſtifie the Virtue and Sobriety of the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Converſation; it was anſwer'd, 'That an Affectation of Popularity has 'often proved a Snare ſtrong enough to tempt 'many Men, who have otherwiſe been of great 'Temperance and Virtue. Nor indeed can 'there be any more dangerous Enemies to a State 'or Kingdom, than ſuch as come ſober to endea-'vour its Deſtruction. VVhich old and true Ob-ſervation was ſignally exemplified in this parti-cular Caſe of the Lord *Ruſſel*: For *Weſt* depo-ſed, 'That the Underacters in the Treaſon moſt 'depended on the ſaid Lord, for this very reaſon, 'becauſe they look'd on him as a Man of great So-'briety.

Upon the whole Proceſs he was found guilty of High Treaſon. But in ſtead of *Drawing*, *Hang-ing* and *Quartering*, the uſual and legal Penalty of that Crime, the Execution was by his Majeſties Cle-mency chang'd into that of *Beheading*. Though it is well known, this very Prerogative of the *Kings* having it in his Power to alter the Puniſhment of High Treaſon, had been vehemently diſputed by the Party, and particularly by the Lord *Ruſſel* himſelf in the Lord *Stafford*'s Caſe.

The ſaid Lord *Ruſſel* at the time of his Death, which was the 21ſt of that Month, deliver'd a Paper to the Sheriffs, and left other Copies of it with his Friends, whereby it was immediately diſpers'd amongſt the People; the general drift of it being to make odious Inſinuations againſt the Govern-

Government, invidious Reflections on the Miniſters of his Majeſties Juſtice, and undue Extenuations of his own Fault.

As to the whole Matter of it, Time, the beſt Diſcoverer, and Light of Truth, has ſince ſhewn it to be full of Enormous Falſhoods: And for the manner of its Compoſure, it was ſuch, as rather became the Subtilty, Artifice and Equivocation of ſome crafty hypocritical Confeſſor, or Presbyterian Caſuiſt, than the Noble plainneſs and ſimplicity of a Gentleman; eſpecially of One who in this very Paper ſo much boaſts of the Sincerity and Candour of his whole Life, and of his perpetual hatred of Tricks and Evaſions.

Among divers other notorious Shifts and Prevarications contain'd in it, this is obſervable, That in this Paper he declares ſolemnly he never was at *Shepard*'s in that Company but once, as in his Tryal he had affirm'd abſolutely he never was there but once: whereas, beſides what *Shepard* poſitively ſwore, 'That he was more than once there, 'and in that very Company; the ſaid Lord *Ruſſel* himſelf alſo, when he was Examin'd in the *Tower* by his Majeſties Command *June* 28th, confeſs'd He had been at *Shepard*'s Houſe frequently; which Confeſſion after it was written down, read and repeated by himſelf, he in great Agitation of Mind deſir'd he might alter it. And the Alteration he made was to put in *divers times* in ſtead of *frequently*. The Truth of which appears by the Original thus ſubſcribed, and corrected by the Lord *Ruſſel*; and by the known Integrity of Sir *Leolyn Jenkins*, Sir *John Ernly*, and his Majeſties Atturney-General and Sollicitor-General, who

who receiv'd the Examination, and have atteſted the Alteration.

The Lord *Ruſſel* likewiſe in the Printed Speech affirms, *His intention of going to* Shepards *was to taſte Sherry*; and in his Tryal he ſaid, *He ſtaid not above a quarter of an Hour there taſting of Sherry.* Though preſently after in the very ſame Paper, forgetting what he had ſaid, he acknowledges, *He was deſir'd to go thither by the Duke of* Monmouth, *upon a buſineſs of greater conſequence than the taſting of Sherry:* Which was, *That the Duke of* Monmouth *call'd upon him to tell him, that the Earl of* Shaftsbury *and ſome other hot Men would undo them all, if great care were not taken; and therefore intreated him to go with him to* Shepards. To this he adds, *That when he came thither, there were things ſpoken by ſome with much more heat than Judgment*; Things of the ſame Nature, no doubt, with thoſe he confeſs'd to have heard before in the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Company, which made the Duke of *Monmouth* himſelf cry out, *Did you ever hear ſo Horrid a thing?* However all theſe Treaſonable Diſcourſes about making ſome *Stirs* as he ſtiles them, the ſaid Lord would fain have had paſs only for Miſpriſion of Treaſon. Though it is remarkable that in all thoſe his laſt Words, there is no more ſign of his asking Forgiveneſs of God or the King, for his confeſs'd Miſpriſion, than for the High Treaſon. Moreover in the ſame printed Paper he ſolemnly avows, *There was no undertaking at* Shepards *for ſeizing the Guards; none appointed to view or examine them; only that there was ſome diſcourſe then, and at other times, about the feaſibleneſs of it*; adding,

ding, *That several times by accident he heard it mention'd, as a thing might easily be done.* By which and other the like concessions in that Speech he well nigh grants himself Guilty of the Crime whereof he was accus'd; since the Judges often assur'd him, that those discourses and Consultations not reveald are High Treason.

He farther says, *it was by a strange fetch, that a design of seizing on the Guards was construed a design of killing the King.* But that this construction was no such strange fetch, Colonel *Walcot* himself might have inform'd him; who both at his Trial, and his Execution, did with far more Truth and Ingenuity allow, *that it was the same thing for him to engage the Kings Guards, whilst another kill'd him, as to kill him with his own Hands.*

Though, to put this whole matter out of question, touching that Consultation at *Shepards*, for seizing the Guards, his Majesty declares on the Faith of a King, appealing also to the Memory of his Royal Highness to confirm the same, That the Duke of *Monmouth* did, in express Terms confess this very particular, and all the circumstances of it to his Majesty at the time of his rendring himself: Namely, *That the foresaid debate of surprizing the Guards was at* Shepards; *that the Lord* Russel *was one of the Persons debating it; that the result was, the Duke of* Monmouth, *the Lord* Gray *and Sir* Thomas Armstrong *should go view the Guards in order to seize them; that accordingly they three did go, and take a view of them to that end; and that the report they made to the same Company at their next Meeting was, that the thing might be done, if they had any considerable strength.*

But what need any farther Proof of the insincerity of the Lord *Russel*'s last Justification, than the forementiond Deposition of *Carstares*? An Evidence not only by Law unquestionable, but such as cannot but be esteem'd by the very Conspirators themselves of invincible strength and conviction: Since he was a Man eminent in their Party, and one of their principal seducing Teachers. And what the said *Carstares* deposed relating to the Lord *Russel*, his Majesty thinks fit to be repeated here again. It was, *That when he return'd into* England *out of* Holland, *where he had been to concert matters with the Earl of* Argyle, *for promoting the General Conspiracy; the next Day he met with Sir* John Cockran, *and having acquainted him with the Earl of* Argyle's *demands of* 30000 l. *Sterling, and the Thousand Horse and Dragoons, Sir* John Cockran *carried the said* Carstares *to the Lord* Russel; *to whom he proposed the affair, but being then a perfect Stranger, had no return from him at that time. That afterwards the Deponent met with the Lord* Russel *accidentally at* Shepard's *House, where as* Shepard *affirm'd the said Lord was come to speak with him about the Money before mention'd. That when the other two had done talking,* Carstares *himself desir'd to speak with the Lord* Russel; *and that in his discourse with him, having reiterated the former proposition for the* 30000 l. *and the Thousand Horse, and Dragoons, the Lord* Russel *answer'd in these very Words; They could not get so much Money rais'd at the time, but if they had* 10000 l. *to begin, that would draw People in, and when they were once in, they would soon be brought to more. But as for the*

1000

1000 *Horse and Dragoons, he could say nothing at the present, for that behoved to be concerted on the Borders.*

By which plain Deposition, agreeing with so many other VVitnesses, it is manifest that when they whom the Lord *Russel* trusted with Composing his last Speech, permitted him to affirm on the word of a Dying Man, *He knew nothing of any Design against the King or Kingdom*, either they did grosly prevaricate with him, or he with them.

His Majesty has judg'd it convenient that the whole Proceeding with the Lord *Russel* should be thus particularly recollected, as well that one great Instance for all might be given of the Impartiality and fair course in which the publick Justice was administer'd against the Conspirators, as also that it might appear with what weak Cavils, Ambiguities and Tergiversations they defended themselves both living and dying. For the others who were afterwards brought to condign Punishment, it will not be so needful to descend into every minute part of their Tryals, Condemnations and Executions, which have been already faithfully published; especially since those that followed made most of the same Objections in Law and Fact as were before most solidly answer'd. It will be enough only to make some few Observations, where any new Matter shall arise, for the fuller Demonstration of the wicked Design.

On *July* the 13th of that Year, was *John Rouse* brought to Tryal. Against him there was ample

Evidence given. First by *Thomas Lea*; 'That 'the ſaid *Rouſe* undertook to provide 100 Arms 'for the City-Diviſions: That he ſaid, *Nothing could be done unleſs the King were ſeiz'd*; adding, *We remember Forty One, when the King went and ſet up his Standard; therefore we will ſeize them that they ſhall not ſet up their Standard.*

'That he farther ſaid, It would be convenient 'to have a Ball plaid on *Black-Heath*; to that end 'ſome Sea-Captains muſt be ſpoken to, he promi- 'ſing to ſpeak to Ten: That when the Ball ſhould 'be won, every Captain might take his Party, 'and tell them they had other Work, and then 'go with long Boats and Arms to ſeize the '*Tower*: That the ſaid *Rouſe* had ſeveral ſuch 'Diſcourſes, and went divers times to view the '*Tower* to that end: That after the Diſcovery he 'ſaid to *Goodenough* and *Nelthrop*, *Be not diſcou- 'rag'd, but let the Buſineſs go on*: That he ſaid, '*Take off the King and the Duke, and then no Man 'can have Commiſſion to fight for them*: That he 'alſo affirm'd, *He was under an Oath of Secrecy, 'never to truſt but one at a time with the De- 'ſign.*

Then by *William Leigh*, 'That the ſaid *Rouſe* 'farther endeavour'd to get Seamen to ſeize on, 'and Command ſome of the Kings Ships, lying 'as Guard-Ships at *Woolwich* and *Deptford*: That 'being ask'd, *What he would do with Ships without 'Powder and Shot, with which they could not be pro- 'vided except the* Tower *were ſurpriz'd?* He re- 'ply'd, *We muſt ſecure the* Tower *and* Whitehal *'both, or we can do nothing.*

And

And farther, to prove the ſaid *Rouſe*'s former Trayterous Temper of Mind againſt his Majeſties Government, it was ſworn by Mr. *Corbin*, 'That 'upon ſome diſcourſe concerning the Parliament at '*Oxford*, *Rouſe* ſaid, *He foreſaw it would be a ſhort* '*Seſſions, but that theſe frequent Prorogations and* '*Diſſolutions of Parliament would not avail him.* '*For whatever the King has, the Parliament gave* '*him, and they may take it away when they pleaſe:* '*That the King had forfeited his Crown, and had* '*no more Right to it than he had.*

Againſt this all the Defence *Rouſe* made was, 'That the words atteſted by *Corbin*, were ſpoken 'upon a Suppoſition of the Popes Power over 'Princes: That as for *William Lea* he had no-'thing to ſay againſt him, but hoped he was an 'honeſt Man; and for *Thomas Lea*, that the ſaid '*Lea* himſelf firſt began thoſe Treaſonable Diſ-'courſes, which *Rouſe* intended to have revealed, 'had not the other got the ſtart of him. But this being only ſupported by his ſingle Yea and Nay, without the Credit of any one Witneſs to ſtrengthen it, the Jury preſently gave their Verdict that he was Guilty.

For divers Years before he had been a moſt Notorious *Boutefeu* in the City of *London*; and was one of the many ſcandalous Examples of the groſs Corruption and Iniquity of the *Ignoramus*-Juries of that time; he having been unjuſtly acquitted by them, when in the Year 1681. he was Indicted of high Crimes, particulary for thoſe Trayterous Words mentioned in *Corbin*'s Evidence.

But

But at last the Divine vengeance overtook him in this manner. 'At his Death among other 'things he ingenuously confess'd, he had deser- 'ved the Sentence pass'd against him; that he had 'heard and understood too much in several kinds 'of Meetings, especially of some, who though 'they call'd themselves True Protestants, were 'Ten Thousand times worse than any others.

On *November* the 7th of the said Year 1683, was Colonel *Algernoon Sydney* arraign'd, having sued out his *Habeas Corpus*; and on the 21st he was brought to his Tryal. He was Indicted 'for being one of their Great Council of Six; 'for sending *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland*; and for 'VVriting a most Treasonable Libel against the 'Government, which was found in his Closet on 'the Table, when his Papers were seiz'd.

As to the said Colonels having been one of their Council of Six, and present at, and consenting to all their Deliberations, at Mr. *Hambden*'s and the Lord *Russel*'s the Lord *Howard* deposed to the same sense as he had done at the Lord *Russel*'s Tryal; adding now one particular, which more especially affected Colonel *Sydney*; 'That 'the said Colonel, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and 'the Deponent were the first Movers of erecting 'that Council; the Duke of *Monmouth* undertaking to incline the Lord *Russel* to it; and Mr. *Sydney* promising for the Earl of *Essex* and Mr. *Hambden*.

Touching the Second Article, 'His sending '*Aaron Smith* into *Scotland* to invite some Scotch- 'Men hither, the Lord *Howard* farther witness'd, 'That

'That at their firſt Meeting at Mr. *Hambden*'s, 'amongſt other matters, it was chiefly debated 'how to make a coalition of Councils between 'them and *Scotland*; That to this purpoſe it was 'propos'd ſome fit Perſon ſhould be thought on to 'ſend thither to unite them and the Engliſh Con- 'ſpirators into one ſenſe and care: That this was 'diſcours'd of at the firſt Meeting.

'That at the next, which was at my Lord '*Ruſſel*'s Houſe, every one of the ſame Perſons 'being preſent, they fell to Conſult of what they 'had charg'd themſelves with the time before, 'concerning ſending into *Scotland*; and alſo the 'ſetling a Correſpondence with *Argyle*: That the 'Scotch Gentlemen Named o be ſent to, were '*Melvin*, *Cockran* and the *Cambels*: That Colo- 'nel *Sydney* offer'd he would take care of the Per- 'ſon to be ſent; ſaying, *he had one in his thoughts 'whom he judg'd a fit Man to be truſted*, naming '*Aaron Smith* for the Man: That as many of 'the Company as knew him, thought him a very 'proper Perſon for that employment: That the 'Duke of *Monmouth* undertook to invite *Melvin* 'hither; and a Letter was to be ſent to *Cockran* 'by *Smith*: That theſe Scotch-men were to be 'deſired to come, and acquaint their Council 'here, how they found *Scotland* temper'd; what 'opportunities or advantages there might be of 'putting that Kingdom into a Commotion; and 'how they might there keep time and place with 'the Engliſh.

'That ſhortly after this, the Deponent went to 'Colonel *Sydney*'s, and found him juſt going into '*London*: That the ſaid Colonel took out of a

'Cabinet

'Cabinet ſeveral Guinea's, ſaying, *They were to 'be given to* Aaron Smith *for his Expences*: That 'he was ſent accordingly; and the Colonel told 'the Deponent afterwards, *He was gone, and was 'upon the Road, and that he had heard from him when he was about* Newcaſtle.

It was next plainly prov'd, That thoſe Scotchmen came up ſoon after *Smith* arrived there. This was ſworn by Sir *Andrew Foreſter*, that *Cockran*, *Monroe*, and the two *Cambels* came to Town about the end of the Spring, or the beginning of Summer; *Cockran* and *Monroe* pretending their Buſineſs was a Purchaſe in *Corolina*; and that upon the very firſt rumour of a Plot, *Cockran* abſconded, *Monroe* and the *Cambels* were taken.

To this purpoſe *Attherbury* the Meſſenger alſo depoſed, 'That about the end of *June*, or the 'beginning of *July* 1683. he was ſent by his Ma'jeſties Warrant into *London*, upon a diſcovery 'of ſome Scotch-men lodging in *Black-Friers*; 'but the Common-Sergeant of the City and others 'having been there before him, found them ma'king their eſcape in a Boat: That the Perſons 'were Sir *Hugh Cambel*, *Cockran*, and another: 'That this was after they had been in Town 'but a little while.

The next Head of the Accuſation concern'd the Treaſonable Pamphlet found in Colonel *Sydney*'s Study, at the time of his Apprehenſion. To this, firſt Sir *Philip Lloyd* Clerk of his Majeſties Council depoſed, 'That having been ſent by the 'King and Council to ſeize Colonel *Sydney*'s Pa'pers, he did go, and put up what he found in 'his Cloſet: That he found thoſe Papers now

'given

'given in Evidence lying upon his Table where 'he uſually writ: That he ſeiz'd them towards 'the later end of *June*: That having put them 'up, he offer'd Colonel *Sydney* that he might Seal 'them with his own Seal, but he refuſing, the 'Deponent ſet his Seal to them, and ſo deliver'd 'them to the Council.

Next it was made out, by as firm Proof as ſuch a matter will bear, That all the Sheets produced were of Colonel *Sydney*'s own Hand-writing, which was evidenc'd by Mr. *Shepard*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Cary*, Men of known Repute and Credit, who had long dealt with Mr. *Sydney* in Matters of Money, and had paid divers Bills of Exchange for him, upon Notes written in the ſame Hand, and were never call'd to any account for Miſ-payment.

Then were the Papers read, containing rank Treaſon almoſt in every Line.

For therein were broach'd and aſſerted many horrible Doctrines both againſt Monarchy in general, and the Engliſh Monarchy in particular: which according to the uſual falſe Reaſoning of all Republican Writers, he endeavour'd to juſtifie by divers Quotations and Examples of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory groſly perverted, and miſapplied againſt the preſent Government of his Country.

In ſhort, the whole deſign of thoſe Papers was to maintain, *That Tyrants may be juſtly depoſed by the People; and that the People are the only Judges who are Tyrants*: And peculiarly concerning this Nation there are theſe Expreſſions:

'The Power originally in the People of *Eng-*
'*land* is delegated to the Parliament. He, the
'King, is ſubject to the Law of God, as he is a
'Man; to the People that makes him a King, in
'as much as he is a King: The Law ſets a Mea-
'ſure to that Subjection: The Parliament is Judge
'of the particular Caſes thereupon ariſing: He
'muſt be content to ſubmit his Intereſt to theirs,
'ſince he is no more than any one of them in any
'other reſpect, than that he is by conſent of all
'rais'd above any other: If he doth not like this
'Condition, he may renounce the Crown: But
'if he receive it upon this Condition, (as all Ma-
'giſtrates do the Power they receive) and ſwear
'to perform it, he muſt expect the Performance
'will be exacted, or Revenge taken by thoſe he
'hath betray'd.

And in another place he ſays, 'We may there-
'fore change or take away Kings without break-
'ing any Yoak; or that is made a Yoak, which
'ought not to be one. The Injury is in making,
'and impoſing, and there can be none in break-
'ing it.

And in another, 'That the People muſt needs
'be the Judge of what happens between them,
'and the King, whom they did conſtitute. And
'in another, that as for the Peoples being Judges
'in their own Caſes, it is plain they ought to be
'the only Judges.

And in another, 'That the Power of calling and
'diſſolving Parliaments is not in the King. And
in another, 'That the general revolt of a Nation
'from its own Magiſtrates can never be call'd a
'Rebellion.

Theſe

Theſe are ſome of the Treaſonable Tenets contain'd in Mr. *Sydney*'s Papers, amongſt many other Aſſertions that are equally Criminal, but too long to be here inſerted. Concerning all which Villanous Opinions this is certainly known, and confeſs'd by all good Men, That as they laid the Foundations of the late miſerable War againſt his Majeſties bleſſed Father, and thereby occaſion'd the ſpilling ſo much Blood, even of the Royal Blood it ſelf; ſo when-ever the Multitude ſhall be infected with the like Antimonarchical Doctrines, it will be impoſſible for the beſt Kings, or the moſt happy Kingdoms in the World, to be free from perpetual Treaſons, and Rebellious Plottings.

To all this Colonel *Sydney*'s Anſwer being only made up of moſt of the ſame Pleas in Law that had been over-ruled, and the ſame Objections againſt the Lord *Howard* which were ſatisfactorily repell'd in the former Tryals: beſides that he only barely deny'd the ſending of *Aaron Smith*, and his having any hand in, or knowledge of that Meſſage: And as for his Treaſonable Papers, he would not grant them to be his, or if they were found in his Study, he affirm'd *That they might have been written many Years ago in anſwer to Sir* R. Philmer's *Book of Monarchy*; *and written with no intention of publiſhing them, but only for private diverſion, and the exerciſe of his Pen.* In ſhort, his Defence conſiſting rather in Nice Cavils at the known Forms of Law, or Diſcourſes ridiculing the Deſign of a Council of Six, and the whole Conſpiracy it ſelf, than in any ſolid Arguments or Evidence to invalidate

the Witneſſes; or to clear himſelf from the Crimes proved upon him, he was preſently found Guilty.

His Execution in reſpect of his Quality, his Majeſty alter'd from the uſual Puniſhment of High Treaſon, into that of Severing his Head from his Body. At the time of his Death on *December* the 7th he alſo deliver'd the Sheriffs a Written Paper: Wherein, after having excuſed his not ſpeaking what he wrote, by alledging this reaſon among others, *That this was an Age, which makes Truth paſs for Treaſon;* he objects againſt the Lord *Howard* the Infamy of his former Life; which Objection no Man in *England* had leſs cauſe to make than himſelf, the Lord *Howard* and he having been known to be entire Confidents, Familiars and Friends for many Years paſt of their Lives, and till the very time of the Diſcovery.

Touching his Papers produced againſt him, he gives an account full of manifeſt Equivocations, and ambiguous Reſervations. He ſufficiently intimates *they were his own*; but implies *they were written long ago, againſt a Book of Controverſie in Matters of Government.* Thereupon he goes on, openly to juſtifie thoſe Papers, by Poſitions dangerous enough to the Publick Peace, but quite different from what was laid to his charge at his Tryal, and was quoted word by word out of thoſe Papers. For in ſtead of being a general Diſcourſe for the Peoples Rights againſt Kings, without any particular Applications to Time or Place as in this his laſt Paper he inſinuates them to have been; it is apparent to any Man that can but read,

that

that thoſe Sheets of his Writing, which were given in Evidence, ſtrook at the very Root of the Engliſh Monarchy, and that therein he ſtudied to do his part to bring the Ax very near the Kings Neck once again.

He farther, in that printed Speech, moſt injuriouſly reviles his Judges, affirming with notorious falſhood and petulancy, *That leſt the Means of deſtroying the beſt Proteſtants in* England *ſhould fail, the Bench was fill'd with ſuch as had been Blemiſhes to the Bar.*

He goes on to make divers the like frivolous and groundleſs Reflections on the legal and regular Proceedings againſt him; concluding with a Prayer that could be dictated by none but a fierce Republican, and a furious Enthuſiaſtical Spirit met together. It was in truth a Prayer more proper for their Treaſonable Meetings at Mr. *Hambden*'s or the Lord *Ruſſel*'s, than to be uſed as the laſt words of a Gentleman dying in the profeſſion of his Innocency.

For after having fondly declar'd, That *he fell a Sacrifice to Idols*, he thus addreſſes his Speech to the great God of Heaven: *Bleſs thy People, and ſave them. Defend thy own Cauſe; Defend thoſe that defend it. Stir up ſuch as are faint. Direct thoſe that are willing. Confirm thoſe that waver. Give Wiſdom and Integrity unto all. Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy Mercies; and that at the laſt thou haſt permitted me to be ſingled out as a Witneſs of thy Truth; and even by the Confeſſion of my Oppoſers, for that* Old Cauſe *in which I was from my Youth engaged, and for which thou haſt often wonderfully declar'd thy ſelf.*

He

He makes it his laſt Glory, *That he was engag'd in that Old Cauſe from his Youth*; and he was ſo. Being yet very Young he took up Rebellious Arms againſt his Majeſties Bleſſed Father, and merited ſo well of that Old Cauſe, that he was thought rightly qualifi'd to be Named, though he did not actually ſit, amongſt the black Number of the Regicides.

Upon his Majeſties moſt happy Return, his fixt averſion to the reſtor'd Government was ſuch, that he would not perſonally accept of the Oblivion and Indempnity then generally granted to the whole Nation. But he voluntarily baniſh'd himſelf for many Years; till about the Year 1677, he came into *England* again and by his Majeſties ſpecial Grace, obtain'd a particular Pardon, upon repeated promiſes of conſtant quiet, and Obedience for the time to come: Which how he made good, the World may Judge. In fine, he fell a memorable warning, and fatal Example to the Engliſh Nobility and Gentry of this, and all future Ages; that they ſhould take heed of being ſo far infatuated with the fancie and Chimerical Felicities of Antient or Modern Commonwealths, as to deſpiſe and attempt the ruine of the far more ſolid Liberty and happineſs to be injoy'd under the Engliſh Monarchy.

On the 28th Day of *November* 1683, Mr. *John Hambden* Junior, having alſo ſued out his *Habeas Corpus*, was arraign'd for High Miſdeameanor, and brought to his Tryal the 6th of *February* following.

In

In this Tryal, the Lord *Howard* poſitively depoſed to the ſame ſenſe as before touching the general Tranſactions of the Conſpiracy till the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Death; and particularly afterwards of the Meeting of the Council of Six at Mr. *Hambden*'s own Houſe, where Mr. *Hambden* made an Introductory Speech to open the Aſſembly; and the ſubject of their Debates was concerning the Time, Place, Men, Arms and Money to be provided towards a Riſing; and alſo that then the ſending a Meſſenger into *Scotland* was propoſed, and referred to be debated the next Meetting.

Farther, That Mr. *Hambden* was preſent at that next Meeting at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Houſe; and amongſt the reſt deliberated of ſending the Meſſenger into *Scotland*; when *Aaron Smith* was named, and approved to be the Man.

But the ſubſtance of the Lord *Howard*'s Evidence having been before ſufficiently ſet down, it will be needleſs now to follow exactly every Circumſtance of it. It is enough only to note, That moſt of the ſame Objections being again repeated by the Defendents Council, had the ſame or like Anſwers return'd them by the Kings.

There was indeed one new and very material thing then firſt particularly and unqueſtionably made out in this Tryal, which was the certainty of *Aaron Smith*'s carrying the Treaſonable Meſſage into *Scotland*. This was now demonſtrably proved by *Sheriff* and *Bell*, both Inhabitants of *Newcaſtle*; *Sheriff* being the *Man* at whoſe Houſe *Smith* lay in his paſſage to and fro, and *Bell* the very Guide that went thence to conduct him into *Scotland*.

Touch-

Touching this Matter; First, *Attherbury* one of the Kings Messengers testified, 'That *Sheriff* 'and *Bell* had a full view of *Aaron Smith*, who 'was brought for that purpose from the *Kings-* '*Bench* before the King: That *Sheriff* and *Bell* 'did then own *Aaron Smith* to be the Man who 'had passed under the Name of *Clerk*: That '*Sheriff* declar'd the said *Clerk* lay at his House; 'and *Bell* said that he travell'd towards *Scotland* 'with him, being hired to shew him the way: 'That to all this *Aaron Smith* would not answer 'one word.

Then *Sheriff* himself deposed, 'That he keep- 'ing the *Black-Spread-Eagle* in *Newcastle*, *Aaron* '*Smith* came to his House about the middle of '*February* 1683: That he staid there one Night, 'went away, and return'd again in twelve days, 'or thereabout: That he travell'd from his House 'Northward towards *Scotland*, but first desir'd 'one might be got to shew him the way: That 'to that purpose the Deponent sent for *Bell*, whom '*Smith* presently hired to go with him: That 'when *Smith* came back, he lay another Night 'at his House, and so returned into the South to- 'wards *London*: That *Smith* went all the while 'by the Name of *Clerk*: That the Deponent di- 'rected him to a Gentleman at *Jadburgh*, which 'is Forty Miles from *Newcastle*, and within Six 'Miles of *Scotland*.

Then *Bell* swore, 'That *Aaron Smith* was the 'very Man who went by the Name of *Clerk*. 'That the Deponent living at *Newcastle*, and 'getting his Livelyhood by letting out Horses and 'guiding of Travellers; *Sheriff* sent for him,

'told

'told him the ſaid *Clerk* wanted a Guide into '*Scotland*: That this happen'd on the *Thurſday* 'before *Shrove Tueſday*: That the next Morning 'being *Friday*, he conducted *Smith* towards *Jad-* 'burgh; that on the *Saturday* the Deponents 'Horſe was tyr'd; ſo *Smith* left him taking ano- 'ther Guide; appointing him to come after as faſt 'as he could to *Jadburgh*: That the Deponent 'overtook him there on *Sunday*; and on *Monday* 'Morning ſaw him take Horſe with another Guide 'for *Scotland*, ſaying he was going towards *Dou-* 'glas: That *Bell* preſently went back to *New-* 'caſtle: where he ſaw *Smith* and diſcours'd with 'him, upon his return out of *Scotland*.

Then it was alſo proved by Sir *Andrew Foſter* and *Attherbury*, 'That the Scotch-Men ſent for 'by *Smiths* Meſſage, did come, and ſtaid in Town, 'till upon the Diſcovery of the Plot, they were 'either taken or abſconded.

By this plain Evidence of the ſeveral Stages of *Smith*'s Journy, that Treaſonable intercourſe with *Scotland* was made out beyond all poſſibility of Confutation. So that from the very time of the Conſultations at Mr. *Hambdens*, and the Lord *Ruſſel*'s about ſending a Meſſenger; the Truth of Colonel *Sydneys* undertaking to ſend one; of his naming *Aaron Smith* for the Meſſenger; of *Smith*'s going to *Scotland*; of the Scotch Mens coming up that were ſent for; and of their being ſurpri- zed, endeavouring to hide themſelves, upon the firſt breaking forth of the Plot; all this appears to be indiſputably confirm'd, and trac'd ſtep by ſtep, almoſt from Day to Day, eſpecially if theſe *Newcaſtle* Mens Depoſitions ſhall be compar'd with

the Teſtimony that is ſubjoin'd of two Scotch-Men *Thomas Steil*, and *Oliver*, concerning *Aaron Smith*'s actual arrival in *Scotland*, and what he did whilſt he was there at that time.

The iſſue was, Mr. *Hambden was immediately found Guilty of the High Treſpaſs and Miſdemeanor, and thereupon fined* 40000 l. *to the King, and order'd to give Sureties for his Good Behavior during Life.* A Puniſhment that cannot but be eſteem'd very moderate, conſidering the Nature of his Crime, which nothing but the want of another poſitive Witneſs could have made leſs than High Treaſon. And the King cannot but here take this occaſion once for all, to give the World Notice of this Infallible Inſtance of his mild and merciful Proceedings towards the Conſpirators. For his Majeſty does ſolemnly declare, 'That if he 'had not granted the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Re-'queſt, *That he would not make him a Witneſs*, nei-'ther Mr. *Hambden*, nor ſcarce any one Man of 'all thoſe that were freed upon Bail, had eſcaped 'Death. Not to mention divers others, whom the ſaid Duke of *Monmouth* named as Parties in the Conſpiracy, that were never yet queſtion'd.

On the 14th of *June* 1684. Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* having been taken in *Holland*, was brought to the *Kings-Bench-Bar*, upon an Outlawry againſt him for High Treaſon. Whereupon the Kings Atturney demanded *An Award of Execution:* Since upon his not appearing, when formerly Indicted of High Treaſon, he was now by the courſe of Law attainted for the ſame.

Armſtrong

Armstrong being ask'd, *What he could say for himself?* alledg'd, *He was beyond Sea at the time of the Outlawry, and beg'd he might be Try'd.*

It was answer'd, *That after a Record of Outlawry, the Judges had nothing to do but to appoint Execution.*

Against this *Armstrong* urg'd, *That by the Statute of the 6th of* Edward the Sixth, *the Person Outlaw'd had a Years time to Reverse the Outlawry, if he were beyond Sea.*

The Bench reply'd, 'That by the plain words 'of that Statute, none could have the benefit of it, 'but such as within one Year should yield them-'selves to the Chief Justice of *England*, and offer 'to Traverse the Indictment upon which the 'Outlawry was Pronounc'd.

To this *Armstrong* pleaded, *That the Year not being yet out, he did now render himself to the Chief Justice.*

But that Plea not being admitted, because he did not yield himself according to the sense of the Act, but was brought a Prisoner, and so could have no Advantage of the Poviso in the Statute; *Armstrong* alledg'd, 'That the same 'Favour had been lately granted to another, 'meaning *Holloway*, who though he was in the 'same Condition of Outlawry, yet was offer'd 'to take his Tryal if he pleas'd.

It was answer'd, 'That was done out of the 'meer Grace and Favour of the King, who if 'his Majesty thought good might extend the like 'Favour to him also. But that was not the busi-'ness of a Court of Justice; they were only to 'take care to satifie the Law.

Moreover, the Kings Atturney acquainted the Court, 'That the Priſoner at the Bar deſerv'd no ſort of Indulgence or Mercy from the King; not 'only for that when he was ſeiz'd beyond Sea, 'Letters of freſh Communication with Foreign 'Miniſters and other People were taken about him; 'but alſo becauſe it appear'd to his Majeſty by 'full Evidence poſitively given, That after the 'Diſappointment of the Meeting at the *Rye* by 'Gods Providence in the Fire at *Newmarket*, '*Armſtrong* was one of the Perſons that actually 'engag'd to go upon the Kings haſty coming to 'Town, and to deſtroy him by the way as he 'came.

Then was he order'd to be Executed *June* the 20th. At the place of Execution he likewiſe deliver'd the Sheriffs a Paper, wherein he continued to Object againſt the legal Courſe of the Proceedings upon him, complaining, 'That with an un-'ordinary roughneſs he had been condemn'd, 'and made a Preſident, though *Holloway*, being 'alſo Outlaw'd, had his Tryal offer'd him a lit-'tle before.

As to the new Evidence againſt him, which the Kings Atturney mention'd at the *Kings-Bench*, he only anſwer'd it by a bold and flat denial; affirming upon his Death, *He never had any Deſign againſt the Kings Life, nor the Life of any Man*; both which may be eaſily allow'd to be equally true.

But to evince the contrary as to the Kings Life, it will be ſufficient to ſet down the very words of the Lord *Howard*'s Depoſition, together with the Teſtimony of Colonel *Romzey*, which the Kings Atturney had then ready to produce, amongſt many

many other old and clear Proofs to convince him of designing the Kings Destruction.

The Lord *Howard* having first confess'd some Discourse between the Duke of *Monmouth* and himself, in *October* of 1683, wherein the said Duke had proposed the falling on the King at *Newmarket*, goes on in these words:

'Upon Reflection I am apt to think, that from 'this time and not before, the Design of way-'laying the King in his return to *London*, was 'first meditated. And I am the more confirm'd 'in this Opinion from the Consideration of the 'Behaviour of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the 'Lord *Gray*; who seem'd to be very big of ex-'pectation of some great thing to be attempted 'upon the Day of the Kings coming from *New-'market*; upon which Day (as I have before ob-'serv'd) Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was not to be found 'till the Kings Coaches were come into Town: 'And I do verily believe he was to have Headed 'the Party.

This very Particular the Lord *Howard* gave in upon Oath among his first Confessions to his Majesty. Nor can any Man think it sufficient to invalidate the Truth of this, that *Armstrong* in his last Paper calls it a *base Reflection*, affirming *He could have prov'd it to be a manifest Falshood*; considering that Colonel *Romzey* also upon notice of *Armstrong*'s being taken, made Oath in these very words:

'Sir *Thomas Armstrong* did come to me the '*Sunday*-Night after the Fire at *Newmarket*, and 'told me, That he just came from *Ferguson*, 'and that notwithstanding the King and Duke

'were

'were to return so soon, yet *Ferguson* did not 'doubt to have Men ready by that time to do 'the Business; and desired me to go with him to '*Ferguson*'s Lodging in his Coach, which I did. 'When I came there, *Ferguson* told me the same, 'but that they wanted Money. Upon which 'Sir *Thomas* desired me to Lend some, and he 'would see me Repaid; and added, That if he 'had been in Stock, he would have done it him-'self.

After this, the King could not think himself in the least bound to go out of the way of the Law, for shewing any distinguishing Act of Grace to Sir *Thomas Armstrong*; especially when it is manifest there was scarce a Man living, who had more Personal obligations to his Majesty than he had; and yet no Man had made more ungrateful returns for them, than he had done. Nor could his Majesty forget, how many other Persons, and some very near his Majesty, Sir *Thomas Armstrong* had been the Chief Instrument of perverting. Upon which account his Majesty had reason to look on him, as the Author of many more Treasons besides his own.

There is now scarce any thing material left unmention'd relating to the Proof either of the Assassination or Insurrection, but what may be readily supplied, by any intelligent Reader, out of the Original Records of Informations and Confessions, whereof by his Majesties Command, there are Copies annext to this Narration for an Authentick Confirmation of its Truth. Only the King is pleas'd that a more particular account should be given than has been hitherto made Publick,

lick, of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s rendring himſelf, of the Reaſons then moving his Majeſty to grant him his Pardon, and of what happen'd immediately upon it, which occaſion'd the ſaid Dukes final Diſgrace and Baniſhment from his Majeſties Preſence.

As to the late Earl of *Eſſex*'s Murdering himſelf in the *Tower* ſome few days after his Impriſonment there, His Majeſty cannot think it becomes him to deſcend to any particular Juſtification of his own, or his Miniſters Innocency in that Calamitous Accident.

Though his Majeſty is not ignorant, that divers moſt Malicious Pamphlets have been lately ſpread abroad in Engliſh, and other Languages, which with an unparallell'd Impudence have accus'd ſeveral Perſons of eminent Virtue and Honour about his Majeſty, not ſparing even his Royal Highneſs; nay, ſcarce freeing the King himſelf from being Perſonally Conſcious of ſo Baſe and Barbarous an Action.

But after the Truth of the whole Matter has been carefully examin'd and aſſerted by the Coroners Inqueſt, whoſe proper Buſineſs it was; and after *Braddon* has ſuffer'd the Puniſhment of the Law, for Suborning even Children to bear falſe Witneſs in the Caſe; and after the Notoriety of the Fact, and all the Circumſtances of it, have been ſo clearly made out, that there is not a Man in all *England*, of an honeſt Mind, or ſound Senſe, who does in the leaſt doubt it; his Majeſty diſdains to enter into diſpute with every Petulant

tulant Scribler, or to anſwer the villanous Suggeſtions and horrid Calumnies contain'd particularly in the Libel call'd *The Detection*, and in the Epitome of it; the one written by *Ferguſon*, the other by *Danvers*; both infamous Men, and mortal Enemies to his Majeſties Government and Perſon.

Yet his Majeſty cannot but think it deſerves Obſervation, That when the late Earl of *Eſſex* had ſo many conſiderable Relations and Alliances with divers the greateſt Families in the Kingdom; and when neither his Lady, nor Brother, nor any one of all his Numerous Friends and Noble Kindred, who were moſt nearly concern'd, did ever expreſs the leaſt Jealouſie of foul-dealing or ill practiſe upon the ſaid unfortunate Earl; and when all Mens Eyes are open'd, and ſcarce a Man of their own Party has any ſcruple in his Thoughts about that Buſineſs; yet that now at laſt their old Advocate of Treaſon *Ferguſon* ſhould come forth in Print, to out-face ſo clear a Demonſtration of Truth, and ſhould try ſtill to turn the Envy of that unhappy Stroak on the Court, and the King, and his deareſt Brother: It cannot but ſeem a prodigious Confidence and Preſumption, that *Ferguſon* ſhould be their choſen Champion in this Cauſe! The Man, who by ſo many Depoſitions ſtands Outlaw'd and Convict of having had the greateſt ſhare in the blackeſt part of the Conſpiracy! The Man, in accuſing whom almoſt every Witneſs both Scotch and Engliſh conſented, ſo that his Crimes have been proved by more than Twenty plain Evidences; particularly the Duke of *Monmouh* himſelf

ſelf having confeſs'd to his Majeſty, *That in all their Debates*, Ferguſon *was always for Cutting of Throats*; ſaying, *That was the moſt Compendious Way*. That this very *Ferguſon* ſhould ſo far make good his own words at parting, when he vow'd *He would never be out of a Plot as long as he liv'd!* That now in his Baniſhment under the load of ſo many undeniable Treaſons, he ſhould ſtill appear as the great Patron of the Old Cauſe, and ſhould preſume he can impoſe on the VVorld in a matter of Fact ſo fully try'd, ſo clearly prov'd and determined! VVhat can be a greater Impudence, than that *Ferguſon* ſhould ſtill expect that he could make any Man living believe, the King himſelf, or the Duke of *York* could ever be induced to practiſe his *Compendious Way* on the Earl of *Eſſex*?

However from this one inſtance the King hopes the World will judge, how moſt Injuriouſly and Barbarouſly he has been uſed by his Adverſaries in their other Libels againſt him; in moſt of which it is well known the ſame venemous Pen was employ'd.

As for the deplorable end of the ſaid Earl, his Majeſty freely owns, there was no Man in his Dominions more deeply afflicted with it than himſelf: His Majeſty having been thereby deprived of an extraordinary Opportunity to exerciſe his Royal Clemency; and to teſtifie to all his Loyal Subjects and Old Friends, how highly he valued the Memory and Sufferings of the Lord *Capel*.

Next himſelf, his Majeſty thinks he is alſo bound in common Juſtice to declare, That his entirely beloved Brother was moſt tenderly concern'd and griev'd at that lamentable Effect of the Earl

of *Essex*'s Despair : His Majesty being best able, upon his own knowledge to vouch for the Duke of *York*, That he never deserv'd ill of the said Earl, and was always most readily inclined , for both their Fathers sakes, to have forgiven whatever ill the Earl of *Essex* had done to him.

Now touching his Majesties Pardoning the Duke of *Monmouth*, and what followed upon it, the King is pleased this Account shall be given.

The World needs not be told with what extraordinary regret to his Majesty, the said Duke was of late Years perverted from that sense of his Duty and Allegiance, his Majesty might justly claim from him, upon many more Obligations besides that of being his Subject.

But it was one of the first and principal Artifices of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Malice, after his own disgrace at Court, to be reveng'd on the King, by afflicting him in so tender a part, and by sly Insinuations, to wrest from his Bosom a Person, who he knew, had so great a share in his Majesties Affections.

This was indeed a Talent peculiar to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, That of all Men living he could most easily turn himself into all shapes, and comply with all Dispositions ; having by long practise, got the skill to cover his Hooks with Baits fitting every Humour. The Covetous who are no small Number of the pretended Godly Party, those he was wont to feed, and deceive with hopes of VVealth and new Sequestrations : The Ambitious with Praise and Vain-Glory : The Noncon-

formist

formiſt Zealots, with Promiſes of Liberty in Religion; ſometimes not refuſing to ſtoop lower, and even to ſerve and aſſiſt the Pleaſures and Debauches of Men that way inclined, if he found them any way uſeful for his purpoſe.

Wherefore the ſaid Earl obſerving in the Duke of *Monmouth* a Mind raſh, unſteady and ambitious, ſoon made him an eaſie Prey to his wicked Subtilty, diſguiſed under fair and plauſible Colours: On the one ſide, puffing up his Youthful Thoughts with a vain Oſtentation of Honour, and the Temptation of Fame to be gotten by Aſſerting and Defending his Countries Liberties and Religion, always pretended by him to be in imminent danger, whilſt He was out of place: On the other, inflaming him with imaginary Suſpicions of the Duke of *York*'s irreconcileable Hatred to his Perſon. VVhich was ſo far from having any real Foundation, that on the contrary, his Majeſty, who beſt knows, does freely here teſtifie for his deareſt Brother in this particular, That the Duke of *Monmouth*, till he made himſelf uncapable of his Friendſhip, never had a more entire, or faſt Friend about his Majeſty; and there was ſcarce ever any Honour or Benefit conferr'd on him, but it was obtain'd of his Majeſty by his Royal Highneſſes Interceſſion.

However by ſuch groundleſs Jelouſies and empty Conceits, was the Duke of *Monmouth* inſenſibly drawn to deſert his only true Intereſt, and to give himſelf over to the Deluſions of his Majeſties mortal Enemies.

This the King apparently perceiving, and foreſeeing how in the event it would tend to the

ſaid Dukes inevitable Ruine, his Majeſty tryed by all imaginable ways of Kindneſs to caſt forth the Evil Spirit in him, and to reſcue him out of their Hands. At length, when no milder courſe would ſerve, his Majeſty required him on his Allegiance, to go beyond the Seas, and there to remain till his farther pleaſure was ſignified. His Majeſty ſtill hopeing, that at ſo great a diſtance the Poyſon would be leſs effectual, and that by his abſence the ſaid Duke would be kept Innocent of the Treaſonable deſigns which his New Aſſociates were furiouſly carrying on againſt the Government.

But in that expectation his Majeſty was unfortunately diſappointed. The Duke of *Monmouth* preſently ſhew'd, how much his falſe Friends and Treacherous Flatterers had prevailed over his unwary Youth; and how different they had taught him to be from the Obedience, which at the ſame time was practiſed by his Royal Highneſs. For the ſaid Duke of *Monmouth* ſoon return'd into *England* contrary to his Majeſties expreſs Command.

The diſcontented Party having thus got him again, and made him ſurer to themſelves by this new Affront to his Majeſty, began now to take new Life and Vigour by his preſence: With inſufferable Boldneſs and Contempt of Authority, ſhewed him every where to the Rabble; Leading him about with inſolent Pomp, through many Countries; openly owning and crying him up as the Head of their Cauſe; the unhappy Young-Man all the while not underſtanding that he was only a Property.

By

By theſe fatal ſteps he was at laſt brought into the moſt pernicious Counſels and undertakings. And whilſt nothing leſs was intended by his Tempters but the ſubverſion of all that is well-ſetled and ſacred in Church and State; they deluded him into the very ſame Deſigns, by popular ſhews and empty Names of the Proteſtant Duke, the great Champion and Protector of the Privileges of the Subject and the Reformed Religion: Which under his Majeſty, can never want any other Protector; nor can ever ſtand in need of ſuch Champions as many of late have vaunted themſelves to be, of whoſe Religion there can be given no better Account than of their Loyalty.

Such then was the ſtate of things, when upon the firſt breaking forth of this Horrid Conſpiracy, his Majeſty with inexpreſſible ſurprize and Grief, Found by undoubted Evidence the Duke of *Monmouth* very deeply engaged; and therefore had but too juſt reaſon to put him into a Proclamation among the other Conſpirators: After that the ſaid Duke had withdrawn himſelf from his Majeſties Juſtice, and ſo long was become incapable of his Forgiveneſs.

In this obſtinate defiance the Duke of *Monmouth* continued, till the Outlawry againſt him, and other his Complices began to draw to an Iſſue. Then his Majeſty receiv'd from him the firſt Letter: In which his Majeſty fancy'd he ſaw a greater Spirit of Ingenuity than afterwards proved. However finding in it ſo clear and full expreſſions of the ſaid Dukes remorſe for his former Diſloyalty to his Majeſty and Ingratitude to the

Duke

Duke of *York*, and ſo frank profeſſions of his Reſolutions to amend for the future, joyn'd with the greateſt Imprecations on himſelf; if he ſhould wilfully violate his promiſes therein made: his Majeſty did thereupon immediately return this Anſwer written with his own Hand, (that his Majeſty might not be wanting on his part to lay hold on any good and probable Opportunity of reducing him to Reaſon, and ſaving him from utter Ruine:) *If the Duke of* Monmouth *deſires to make himſelf capable of my Mercy, he muſt render himſelf to the Secretary, and reſolve to tell me all he knows, reſigning himſelf entirely to my Pleaſure.*

This determinate Declaration of his Majeſties Will, drew from the Duke of *Monmouth* a ſecond Letter; wherein with vehement and pathetick Words he aggravates his Diſtraction and Torment for having offended his Majeſty. Confeſſes *Himſelf in fault, betray'd into fatal Miſtakes, miſled into Miſchiefs, whereof he did not at firſt in the leaſt ſuſpect the Conſequences:* declares, *That his Crime appear'd to him in ſo terrifying a ſhape, that he preferr'd even Death before his preſent ſenſe of it:* implores *His Majeſties Pardon no otherwiſe, but if he may receive it by his Royal Highneſſes Mediation:* profeſſes *To ſpeak this not only in outward Form, but with the greateſt Sincerity in the World:* reſigns *Himſelf to his Majeſties Diſpoſal, not only now, but for the remainder of his Life:* engages *Abſolutely to put his very Will into his Majeſties Hands for the future, which he acknowledges had been ſo ill a Guide to him in times paſt:* concluding, *That till he could receive ſome comfortable Return to this his unfeigned Submiſſion,*

he

he was the moſt miſerable, diſconſolate Creature living.

Upon the receipt of this ſecond Letter, the King being perſwaded there could be no room left to queſtion the Sincerity of a real Change in the Duke of *Monmouth*, and knowing he had now enough in his Hands to overwhelm him with Confuſion, if it ſhould prove otherwiſe, his Majeſty did thereupon without any more reſerve, immediately admit him into his Preſence, being introduced by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

When the Secretary was withdrawn, there being none elſe preſent but his Royal Highneſs, his Majeſty can have no other Teſtimony beſides of what paſt between them but God, who knows all things; And to the ſame God his Majeſty appeals, as well as to his deareſt Brother: Nothing doubting but if the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhall ever return to any ſenſe of his Duty to God and his King, he himſelf will be a third VVitneſs of the Truth of what his Majeſty now declares; *That the Duke of* Monmouth, *with Signs of the moſt humble Contrition and ſincere Sorrow for his paſt Miſcarriages, did then fully and freely acknowledge his having been Conſcious of the Conſpiracy; and gave his Majeſty much greater Light into many Particulars of it than he could poſſibly elſe have obtain'd.*

'Tis true, his Majeſty does not deny the ſaid Duke perſiſted to the laſt in renouncing any the leaſt knowledge or thought of the Aſſaſſinating part. Nor did his Majeſty much preſs him on that ſide; his Royal Indulgence eaſily inclining him to wiſh and to believe, That One who had the Honour

Honour to be taken ſo near to him, could not be guilty of ſo vile a Parricide.

But of the other part, the Trayterous Deſign to ſeize on his Majeſties Perſon, and ſubvert the preſent Government by an Inſurrection; of that his Majeſty muſt own and profeſs on the Word of a King, The Duke of *Monmouth* made no ſcruple to confeſs his ſhare; and ſo largely to ſet it forth, that there was little of the Conſpiracy before known, which the ſaid Duke did not confirm; and many Paſſages of it were before unknown, which he reveal'd.

After this his Majeſty made no delay to give him many certain Proofs of his entire Forgiveneſs of all paſt Offences, and of his renew'd Affections and Royal Bounty to him for the future; preſently cheriſhing him near his own Perſon with his wonted Tenderneſs; declaring in Council the perfect Contentment he had receiv'd by his Submiſſion, and ordering his Pardon to be diſpatch'd with all expedition; promiſing him withal at his earneſt Intreaty, *That he ſhould not be a Witneſs*; a Favour refuſed to the late Duke of *Orleans* in *France* upon the like occaſion.

Yet no ſooner was the Pardon compleated in due Form of Law, but his Majeſty and the whole Court was afreſh Alarm'd with the continual reſort to him of divers Perſons, whom his Majeſty knew to be engag'd, and had Proof ſufficient to Convict them in courſe of Law, if he would have produced it all.

To this at the ſame time were added many arrogant and impudent Speeches of his late Complices and Dependants, ſaying, 'That the ſaid Duke had

'made

'made no Confeſſion, but had aſſerted the Inno-
'cency of ſome that had ſuffer'd. Which mani-
feſtly tended to vilifie the Truth of the whole Diſ-
covery, and to bring a Scandal on all the Pro-
ceedings of his Majeſties Juſtice.

Wherefore at laſt his Majeſty was awaken'd, and thought fit to put him gently in mind by what was ſo lately paſt, of his danger of relapſing into the ſame Precipice, out of which nothing but his Royal Goodneſs had recover'd him. And for the better Security of the ſaid Duke himſelf, as well as of the Kingdom for the time to come, his Majeſty inſtantly demanded of him to give ſome ſuch Satisfaction to the whole Nation in publick, as he had but juſt before given to his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs in private.

The Duke of *Monmouth* ſeeming willing to comply with his Majeſties moſt Gracious Deſires, all that his Majeſty obliged him to do, was to Write over, and Subſcribe a Letter, which his Majeſty himſelf was pleas'd ſo to word, as not only to conſult the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Safety, but alſo his Credit, as much as could poſſibly ſtand with his Majeſties own Safety or Credit. For his Majeſty permitted him in that Letter wholly to acquit himſelf of the Bloody Aſſaſſination, and only required him to own again his part in the Inſurrection. And his Majeſty leaves it to all the World to Judge, whether in this Letter, of his Majeſties own preſcribing, he did not expreſs the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Guilt far more tenderly, than the ſaid Duke himſelf had done in his own Letters to his Majeſty, before his Pardon was Sealed.

This Letter the Duke of *Monmouth* readily

Subscribed, and Presented to his Majesty. But his former ill Adherents and Corrupters still Flocking about him in great Numbers, and Animating him to *continue Faithful to his Old Friends of the Party*; assuring him, *he could not fail in little time to overbear all that should stand in his way, by the Power of his recover'd and increas'd Favour*; by these and such like Mischievous Instigations, they soon got so much the better of his unstable Mind, as to overthrow all his new-made Vows of Loyalty.

Insomuch that presently after he came rashly to the King, *and earnestly intreated the foresaid Letter might be return'd him again*; having been instructed to pretend a Fear, *that some opportunity might be taken from it by his Enemies to blast his Reputation, and perhaps to bring him in to give Evidence against others his Companions in the Conspiracy.*

His Majesty had often before said and promised enough to him to free the Mind of any reasonable Man from such Jealousies. But when all Protestations of that kind, on his Majesties Part, could have no effect; and the said Duke still vehemently insisted, *That the Paper he had sign'd might be delivered him back*, his Majesty once for all told him, *he would never keep it against his will*, that he might not have the least occasion to say he was forced to write what he did: But withal seriously warn'd him to consider what irreparable ill consequences on his part, were likely to follow upon his obstinacy: And therefore gave him time till the next Morning to deliberate calmly with himself, what was to be his final Resolution.

The

The next Day the Duke of *Monmouth* appearing ſtill more fixt in his perverſe Demand, his Majeſty freely put the Letter again into his Hands; but withal from that moment baniſh'd him his Preſence and the Court.

Nor can his Majeſty reflect on the ſaid Duke's undutiful Behaviour in the iſſue of this whole Affair, without an extream Indignation, to find, that after ſo ſubmiſſive and ample a Confeſſion of his Crime, both by Writing and Speech, he ſhould not only give no other ſign of his Repentance, but that the very firſt uſe he ſhould make of his Majeſties Gracious Pardon for it, was to take by it the advantage of entring more ſecurely on a new courſe of Diſobedience.

The King has thus condeſcended to ſet forth an Impartial Relation of the Beginning, Proceeding and Defeat of that whole deteſtable Conſpiracy. His Majeſty has ſo long delay'd the Publication of it, chiefly in Conſideration of many of the Criminals themſelves, how ill ſoever they may have deſerv'd of him. For the Law allowing them the ſpace of a whole Year, after the Outlawry, to render themſelves before they were to be look'd on as Men abſolutely condemn'd, his Majeſty was willing to ſtay till the full time was expired; ſtill hoping, that ſome of them would come voluntarily in, and ſtand a Legal Tryal, and if poſſible, prove themſelves Innocent.

But ſince not one of the Perſons Outlaw'd has all this while ventured himſelf on the Laws of his Country, his Majeſty has now thought it not fit any longer to ſuppreſs the Evidence againſt them.

And what is here publiſh'd, though it be not near the whole of the Informations given in upon Oath, yet will be found abundantly ſufficient to Convict every Man of them, either of the intended Inſurrection or Aſſaſſination; Both which his Majeſty knows are made out with as much clearneſs of Teſtimony, and ſtrength of indubitable Records, as any Humane Affair is capable of.

VVhat now remains? But that his Majeſty ſhould engage himſelf before God and the whole World, to make a right uſe of ſo great a Bleſſing as his Deliverance from theſe deſperate Treaſons; and ſhould with the Authority of a King, and with the tender Affection of a true Father of his Country, require and admoniſh all his Subjects of all Parties and Opinions, to do the like.

For himſelf, his Majeſty cannot but be deeply ſenſible he has been now once more preſerv'd by the immediate Hand of God; and therefore looks on himſelf as afreſh obliged to manifeſt his Gratitude to Heaven, by promoting the Glory of his Preſerver, in continuing to conſult above all things the VVelfare of his Church, and the Peace and Happineſs of this great People committed to his Charge.

And his Majeſty declares he will improve this new Advantage the Divine Favour has ſo marvellouſly put into his Hands, not in Acts of Severity and Revenge, which his Nature utterly abhors; but by imitating the Divine Goodneſs, as in a regular Courſe of ſtrict Juſtice to all obdurate Impenitents, ſo, which he much rather deſires, in his uſual method of Mercy and Kindneſs to as many

many as shall give sincere Proofs of Penitence, and Reformation of their past Crimes; Virtues which his Majesty has too much Reason to believe his and his Fathers Enemies have hitherto been very little acquainted with.

As for those his Majesties misguided Subjects, who after all this persevere to be disaffected to his Government; his Majesty has Reason to expect that now at length they would be convinc'd by that very Providence which used to be their own principal and best-beloved Argument, whenever it seem'd to be never so little on their side; and that henceforth they would quietly submit to, and follow the same Providence; since it has so signally appear'd against them, and much more wonderfully declar'd it self for, than ever Mr. *Sydney* had reason to say, it had declar'd against his Majesty.

If there can possibly still remain any well meaning Men in their Party, led away by the specious Delusions of good Words abused to the worst things; if any such have really thought their Lives and Fortunes, Laws and Consciences at any time in Danger, under his Majesties Government; let them but Remember and consider sadly what was the Issue of the very same Jealousies, Murmurs and Tumults against his Royal Father of Blessed Memory; whether the first and most eminent Instruments of subverting, for a time, this renown'd, and antient Monarchy, were not themselves beguil'd by the same Methods into the meanest Slavery, both Spiritual and Temporal: Out of which, they were compell'd at last to confess, they could be no otherwise redeem'd, but by returning

turning again into the very ſame Conſtitution of things, they had ſo unwiſely overthrown?

Or if the Experience of time paſt, ſo dearly bought, can prevail nothing on them, let them but ſeriouſly reflect on their preſent Condition. In ſtead of hearkening to what wicked and deſigning Men, under the moſt deceitful Colours ſuggeſt to them for Siniſter Ends, let them guide their Opinions by their own plain and ſenſible Obſervation. Let them but fairly and indifferently compare the preſent State of all Nations round about them with their own: And then let them refuſe, if they can, to bleſs God and the King, for their inexpreſſible Advantages above all others.

Whilſt all his Majeſties Subjects find they may if they will ſecurely enjoy Peace, Plenty, Liberty and the beſt Religion; why ſhould any torment themſelves, or diſquiet others with wild imaginations and Fears of future Evils? VVhich nothing can be ſo ready a way to bring upon them as their own Fears.

Henceforth therefore let no vain pretence of Liberty and Property once more puſh them on to the ſame deſperate Deſigns, wherein when they had formerly ſucceſs, (which they cannot always promiſe themſelves) yet even then it turn'd within a few Years to the Ruine of their own Pretences.

Let no miſtaken Zeal of Conſcience ſeduce them again to Diſobedience, ſince the only Obligations of a True Chriſtian Conſcience lead all to Obedience, none to Rebellion.

Let

Let them no longer be infatuated by the falſe Shews and Inſinuations of Popularity: Rather let them learn once for all, who is the only true Patriot, what is truly Popular, what not.

Let them know, That whoever complies with the common Peoples ſudden Humours, and changeable Paſſions, againſt their ſolid Intereſt; Whoever labours to make the whole Government obnoxious to any ſingle Sect or Party; Whoever ſtrives to divide the Country or City from the Court; Whoever endeavours to enlarge diſputable Priviledges, to the hazard of known Prerogatives; In fine, whoever would pervert Liberty into Licentiouſneſs, that Man can never be a True Patriot; all That is falſe Popularity: It is indeed equally as Deſtructive to the People as to the Prince.

Thoſe Counſels only are and ought to be eſteem'd really Popular, which proceed on ſure and legal Foundations, to confirm the Monarchy where it is ſtrong, to ſtrengthen and ſupport thoſe parts of it, which by length of time may have been ſomewhat weaken'd and decay'd. Thoſe Perſons only are the True Patriots, and deſign their Countries Good the beſt and only ſure way, who make it their Buſineſs to keep the King in a condition to protect his People. There is no true, commendable Engliſh Popularity, but true Engliſh Loyalty.

Thus

Thus much his Majesty vouchsafes to advise all his Enemies, and discontented Subjects; though even to them he has done all the Good in this World to oblige them not to be so.

There is one sort of these, whom the King acknowledges he once thought he should never have had just Reason to rank among his Enemies. Those Persons his Majesty means, who after having well approved their Loyalty to his Glorious Father in the last Age of Rebellion, have yet since been either wholly perverted, or have very much stagger'd in their due Obedience and Love to himself.

For them his Majesty declares he would fain still retain his wonted Kindness. And if either private Envy, or a too Presumptuous Value of their old Merits, shall have made them entirely to forget the many vast Benefits and Favours that He, or his Father have so liberally conferr'd on them; or if the late groundless Rumours of Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power shall have so far prevail'd, as to sour and corrupt Them also; yet they might remember, that their Generous Loyalty did once before remain untainted, and bravely stood the Shock amidst the very same Rumours and Slanders, as popularly, but as falsly urg'd then against the Government, as they have been of late. So that either then

they

they were in the wrong, or are now; and cannot poſſibly have been both times on the right ſide.

Wherefore his Majeſty conjures them to look back on the Actions of their former Lives; and to make the Honour gotten by them in their Youth for their Courage and Fidelity to the Crown, firſt a reproof, then an example to their Old Age. Once for all, let them ſeriouſly obſerve that they are come at laſt to be unfortunately deluded, not only by many the very ſame ill Principles, but alſo by many the very ſame ill Parties of Men, which they once eſteemed it their Glory and Conſcience to fight againſt.

But as for all who ſtill continue the Kings Faithful Friends and Dutiful Subjects, his Majeſty moſt willingly takes this occaſion to ſpeak to them in another ſtyle. His Majeſty cannot but teſtifie to all the VVorld the delightful ſenſe he retains of their unmoveable ſteddineſs and renew'd Fidelity to him, in theſe late times of extreme difficulty and diſtraction. He cannot ſuppreſs within his own Royal Breaſt his Joy, to find the ſame unſhaken Principles and Practices of Loyalty to his Bleſſed Father, ſtill ſurviving and flouriſhing in them, and inherited by himſelf with increaſe.

And after the unvaluable Mercy of God to him and his Subjects in his moſt happy Re-

ſtoration, his Majeſty cannot but eſteem This to have been equall'd by none but That; that, in ſo dangerous a Juncture of Publick Affairs, he has met with ſo many unfeign'd Teſtimonies of Love to his Perſon and Zeal for his Government, from all Degrees of Men in the Nation.

And if ſome have ſwerv'd from their Duty, yet his Majeſties Indignation and Reſentments againſt them are overwhelm'd by the comfortable remembrance of the far greater and better Number of thoſe who ſtood by him in the ſevereſt Trials.

So his Majeſty has juſt reaſon to acknowledge, the main Body of the Nobility and Gentry has done: So has the whole ſound and honeſt Part of the Commonalty: So the great Fountains of Knowledge and Civility, the Two Univerſities: So the wiſeſt, and moſt Learned in the Laws: So the whole Clergy, and all the Genuine Sons of the Church of *England*: A Church whoſe Glory it is, to have been never tainted with the leaſt Blemiſh of Diſloyalty.

His Majeſty cannot here forbear to let the World know, what entire Satisfaction he has taken in one ſpecial Teſtimony of his Subjects Affections; whence through Gods Gracious Providence the Monarchy has gain'd a moſt conſiderable Advantage, by means of this very Conſpiracy; And it is, that ſo great a Number of the Cities and Corporations

tions of this Kingdom; have ſince ſo freely reſign'd their Local Immunities and Charters into his Majeſties Hands; leſt the abuſe of any of them ſhould again hereafter prove hazardous to the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown.

This his Majeſty declares he eſteems as the peculiar Honour of his Reign; being ſuch, as none of the moſt popular of all his late Royal Predeceſſors could have promis'd to themſelves, or hoped for. Wherefore his Majeſty thinks himſelf more than ordinarily oblig'd to continue, as he has hitherto begun, to ſhew the greateſt Moderation and Benignity, in the exerciſe of ſo great a Truſt: Reſolving upon this occaſion, to convince the higheſt pretenders to the Commonweal; that as the Crown was the firſt Original, ſo it is ſtill the ſureſt Guardian of all the Peoples Lawful Rights, and Privileges.

In Concluſion his Majeſty makes this ſolemn Declaration to all his Loving Subjects: That as by former and late Experience, he has found, next under God, the firmneſs of his Friends to him has ſaved his Authority and Life; So he is reſolved to ſecure both, by his Conſtancy to his Friends. Such as was the Old Loyal Party, and as many as have been bred up, and ſucceeded in their Principles; Whom his Majeſty looks on as the great Pillars,

and Supporters of his Throne. By them therefore his Majesty declares, he will always stand, and then he is sure by Gods Grace he can never fall.

His Majesty also here Publickly resolves, that he himself will take care to keep his Ministers and Servants, from the Lowest to the Highest, within the Lawful Bounds of their Duty; But will never suffer them to be cryed down by Noise, and Tumults.

As to his Dearest and most Loyal Brothers Safety and just Rights, his Majesty assures all the World, he will inviolably Cherish them as his own. And as the Danger in this Hellish Conspiracy was Common to them both, so their Interests and Affections shall be always inseparable. Nor can his Majesty forbear to recommend to the Imitation of all his other Subjects, the profound Respect, entire Resignation, and Obedience, which his Royal Highness continues to Practise to his Majesties Person and Government.

His Majesty expects from his Subjects all just submission to his Laws: And promises them a proportionable Favour and Incouragement. His Majesty lets them all know that the Rewards of the Crown shall be distributed, according as Men deserve of the Crown, and no otherwise. And

as

as God has given his Majeſty the Heart, not to deſire to abuſe; So he will never, as long as he Lives, part with the juſt Prerogatives and Powers, with which God alone has intruſted him.

FINIS.

Wing S5029

COPIES
OF THE
INFORMATIONS
AND
Original PAPERS
Relating to the Proof of
The Horrid Conspiracy
Against the Late
KING;
His Present MAJESTY,
AND THE
GOVERNMENT:
As they were Order'd to be Published by His late Majesty.

In the SAVOY:
Printed by *Thomas Newcomb*, One of His Majesties Printers; and are to be sold by *Sam. Lowndes* over-against *Exeter-Change* in the *Strand*. 1685.

THE INFORMATION OF Josiah Keeling,

OF THE

Parish of St. *Butolph* without *Aldgate*,

In the County

Of Middlesex, Salter,

Taken the 12th of *June*. 1683.

THis Informant Deposeth and saith, That some time before that His Majesty went last to *Newmarket*, about a Fortnight or Three Weeks as he remembers, Mr. *Richard Goodenough* (under-Sheriff to Mr. *Bethel* and Mr. *Cornish*, late Sheriffs of *London*) did at the *Sun-Tavern* behind the *Royal-Exchange*, take this Informant aside, and ask him how many Men he this Informant could procure to take away the Life of the King and Duke of *York*: He having begun his Discourse with this Informant by telling him that we (meaning thereby himself, this Informant, and other Citizens of *London*) were like to be in Slavery, and to lose our Charter: To which Question this Informant answered, to the best of his Remembrance, That he could not procure any to do that work. This Informant further saith, That meeting the said *Goodenough* a second time, while His Majesty was yet at *Newmarket*, he told this Informant, That the only way to prevent Shedding of Blood, was to take off the King and Duke privately, and renewed

his Former Requeſt to me (this Informant) to procure what Men I could, towards the Effecting of it; and upon this Occaſion he met me often in *London*, and came down to my Houſe. This Informant further ſaith, That he at the Solicitation of the ſaid *Goodenough*, and others, did ſpeak to divers Perſons that Mr. *Goodenough* had told this Informant there were ſeveral Men that would be Concerned in taking off the King and the Duke, and they wanted more to make up their Complement, which were to be Forty in number. Among the Perſons that this Informant ſpoke to, there were Three, *viz. James Burton*, of *Wapping White Chappel*, Cheeſe-Monger; *William Thompſon* Carver of the ſame; and *Andrew Barber*, Inſtrument-maker of the ſame: That Meeting by Appointment at the *Mytre-Tavern* within *Aldgate*, with one *Richard Rumball* a Malſter-man, living at a place called *The Rye* (if this Informant miſtakes not the Name) within two miles of *Hoddeſden*, in the County of *Hertford*, or thereabouts, did agree on the Saturday next before His Majeſties Return from *Newmarket* laſt to go down to the *Rye*, being the Houſe of the aforeſaid *Rumbal*, and there to effect their Deſign of taking off the King and the Duke. The manner whereby they propoſed this ſhould be Effected, That the ſaid *Rumbal's* Houſe where they were to meet, being by the High-ways ſide, they that were to be Actors in the Fact, were to hide themſelves under a Wall or a Pale; and when His Majeſties Coach ſhould come over againſt the ſaid Wall or Pale, Three or Four were to Shoot with Blunderbuſſes at the Poſtilion and the Horſes; and if the Horſes ſhould not drop, then there were to be Two Men with an empty Cart in the Lane near the place, who in the Habit of Labourers ſhould run the Cart thwart the Lane, and ſo to ſtop the Horſes; beſides thoſe that were to ſhoot the Poſtillion and Horſes, there were ſeveral appointed to ſhoot into the Coach where His Majeſty was to be, and others to Shoot at the Guards that ſhould be attending the Coach. This Informant further ſaith, That meeting with Mr. *Robert Weſt*, of the *Middle-Temple*, Barriſter, they went to the *Dolphin*-Tavern in *Bartholomew*-Lane, behind the *Royal Exchange*, where they met the ſaid *Rumball*, and one *Hone* of *Southwark*, (as this Informant believes, he was either a Carpenter or a Joyner) and they diſcourſing together, when His Majeſty would come home from *Newmarket*, Mr. *Rumball* ſaid, He heard that he would come that night: Mr. *Weſt* ſaid he had heard that His Majeſty would not come till *Munday*; and, ſaid he, I hope he will not come till *Saturday*, that is the *Saturday* come Sennight. To which *Rumball* replyed, I hope ſo too. If he do not, ſaid Mr. *Weſt* to *Rumball*, why then how many Swan-Quills? how many Gooſe-Quills? and how many pair of Crow-Quills, will or muſt you have? Whereto *Rumball* anſwered, Six Swan-Quills, twenty Gooſe-Quills, twenty or thirty (the Informant doth not exactly remember which) pair of Crow-Quills, with Ink and Sand proportionable. This Informant asking, either the ſaid *Weſt*, or elſe the ſaid *Rumball*, what was meant by thoſe ſeveral ſorts of Quills; Was anſwered, That by the firſt were meant, Blunderbuſſes; by the ſecond Muskets; by the third, Caſes of Piſtols; by the Ink and Sand, Powder and Bullet. This Informant ſeeing *Rumball* the ſame Week that His Majeſty returned Home, told him he had ſeen the King paſſing by his Houſe, and that if he had but Five Men with him, he could have done his Buſineſs, and the Dukes, for that there were but Five Life-Guard-men with them.

This

This Informant further ſaith, That the ſaid *Goodenough* about a Fortnight ago, came to this Informants Houſe, and going from thence to the Coffee-Houſe, he told him, after he had pulled out ſome Papers, that he this Informant muſt take one of the ſaid Papers; who asking the ſaid *Goodenough*, what he muſt do with it? he the ſaid *Goodenough* anſwered, that he muſt take to his aſſiſtance nine or ten Men, ſuch as he could truſt, to the end they might conſult all the Houſe-Keepers, Journey-men and Apprentices, to ſee what number of men might be raiſed upon occaſion, either to juſtifie the Act, if the King and Duke ſhould be taken off, or if not, what ſtrength could be made up in Caſe of an Inſurrection or a Rebellion: And he being told by this Informant, that we were well, indeed better than any other Nation, (that is) much happier if we could be quiet, otherwiſe we ſhould involve the Nation in Bloud and Confuſion; He replyed, That he was clearly for taking off the King and the Duke, and then there ſhould be quickly an end to it. And this Informant further ſaith, That the two Papers now produced by him, were delivered to him by the ſaid *Goodenough*, and that the Paper beginning with theſe words, *viz.* 4. *From White-Chappel Southeaſt*, and ending *Round Goodmans Fields*, was Written with *Goodenoughs* own hand, as this Informant believes. And this Informant ſaith, That he had received a Third Paper from the ſaid *Goodenough*, which he gave into the hands of one *Joſeph Helby* a Carver of *Limehouſe*, who put it into his Pocket, but ſaid he would not meddle in it. This Informant further ſaith, That the ſaid *Goodenough* told him he had divided the City and Subburbs into Twenty Parts, and ſhewed this Informant the Names of the Diviſions in Writing, having, as he ſaid, taken it out of the Map. In the Company of the ſaid *Goodenough* and this Informant was one *William Rumball*, the Brother of the ſaid *Richard Rumball*, to whom a Paper was offered, but he would not meddle. In each Diviſion there was to be one Principal Man, to take to his aſſiſtance eight or nine more as he thought convenient; but he Named none of them to this Informant. This Informant further ſaith, That on *Thurſday* laſt he going into the *Salutation*-Tavern in *Lumbard-ſtreet*, was told there were above-Stairs ſome Acquaintance of his; he going up, found the ſaid *Goodenough* there, together with one *Wade*, *Nelthrop*, and the aforeſaid *Weſt*, all Barriſters at Law; they called this Deponent in Jeſt by the Name of *Gulick*; and he asking them what they meant by it, they told him, *Gulick* was a brave Fellow and headed the People at *Cologne*, and they hoped to ſee this Informant do the ſame at *Wapping*; and they asked how their Friends did in *Wapping*, and what Strength they could make there: The Informant anſwered, They would do well enough there, and concluded they were privy to the Deſign. In this Company was one they called Captain *Walcot*, who went over with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and came back with his Corpſe; as alſo one they called Colonel, whoſe Name this Informant does not know. This Informant further ſaith, That the ſaid *Richard Rumball* in the Converſation above-mentioned with the ſaid *Burton*, *Thompſon*, and *Barber* and this Deponent, affirmed, That to take off the King and the Duke would be a Keeping of one of the *Ten Commandments*, ſince it would prevent a Rebellion, whereby abundance of Bloud muſt be ſhed. This Informant further ſaith, That he asking *Weſt* and *Goodenough* on the *Thurſday* above-mentioned, what

what Care was taken for Arms, he was answered, That he need not take Care of that, for there was Provision already made; and that the said *West* recommended Secrecy above all things to this Deponent, otherwise the present Design miscarrying, they should never be able to Retrieve it. *West* further told this Deponent on *Easter-Eve*, That since the Design to be executed upon the King's Return from *Newmarket* had failed, they intended to take the King and Duke off between *Windsor* and *Hampton-Court*.

Josiah Keeling.

12 *Die* Junii 1683.
Josiah Keeling,
Juratus fuit Coram me,

L. JENKINS.

The Joynt Information of Josiah Keeling, *of the Parish of St.* Butolph *without* Aldgate, *in the County of* Middlesex, *Salter, and of* John Keeling *of the Parish of St.* Anne Black-Fryers, *Citizen and Turner, taken the* 14*th of* June, 1683.

THese Informants being in Company with *Richard Goodenough*, this 14th day of *June*, between the hours of Twelve and One, at the *Dolphin-Tavern* behind the Exchange; and the said *Josiah Keeling* asking him what account he had of those Twenty Divisions that he had made of the City, or to that effect; He answered, That he had an account of *Lee* a Dyer in *Old-street*, *Middlesex*, and that he could raise him 500 Men: And the said *Goodenough* being asked by the said Informants where those Men should have Arms and Ammunition, and also where other men that were designed to be Raised should have the like: It was Replyed by the said *Goodenough*, That there were Twenty Thousand Pounds already promised, which should be had upon Demand, and that the said Money was to be distributed to the Twenty Principal Undertakers, proportionably to the Lists of Men they brought in; or the said *Goodenough* Replied to that effect: The said *Goodenough* further adding, That the Duke of *Monmouth* and all his Friends would be concerned in raising the said Money; and that the said Duke would be at the Head of the said Party, which they propounded to be Four Thousand in number, and that many more would quickly fall in. And the said *Goodenough* further said, that a certain Colonel (whom the Informant takes to be Colonel *Romsey*) would advance Eight Hundred or a Thousand Pounds towards Paying for Arms. And the

the ſaid *Goodenough* further ſaid, that *Wade* the Counſellor of *Briſtol* or thereabouts, kept in Town two or three hundred pounds, towards paying for Arms. And the ſaid *Goodenough* being asked what he would Contribute towards the carrying on of the ſaid Deſign, (he being a Rich Man) he anſwered that he had about threeſcore pounds in Plate and fifty or threeſcore pounds in Gold, and had he more it ſhould all go to the ſame uſe: And the ſaid *Joſiah* asking him what Proviſion of Horſe there was, the ſaid *Goodenough* anſwered that there were a hundred ready, and Men to Mount them, and if occaſion be, there ſhould be more in readineſs; and the ſaid Informants further ſay, that the ſaid *Joſiah*, being asked by the ſaid *Goodenough*, what Progreſs he had made upon thoſe Papers he had entruſted with him, and *Joſiah* ſhewing him the Paper of Number Three (which *Goodenough* owned to have been delivered by him to the ſaid *Joſiah*, with two Papers more) and telling him all was well enough with us, but asking him withal, what we ſhould do for Arms and Ammunition, he the ſaid *Goodenough* anſwered, that if there was Faith in Men, Money ſhould not be wanting to buy Arms and Ammunition; and that he was to meet this night them that were principally concerned. And theſe Informants ſay, that the ſaid *Joſiah* (being deſirous to pry into the ſecrets of their deſign againſt the *Tower*) propounded to the ſaid *Goodenough*, that a Perſon with the Staff of a Conſtable ſhould bring in a Man bound as an offender before the Lieutenant, or Major *Roe*; and that at the ſame time, another Perſon ſhould be brought in upon the ſame Coulour, and by that means ſecure the Guard at the Gate, till ſuch time that a Body of Men which was to be lodged in the Corner-houſe of *Thames-ſtreet* or the next to it, ſhould come to their help; For which propoſal the ſaid *Goodenough* applauded the ſaid *Joſiah* very much, clapping him upon the back. And the Informant *Joſiah* asking what to ſatisfie our People we ſhould do for a few Arms, he anſwered, that the ſaid *Joſiah* ſhould have Money to buy them. *Joſiah* then askt him what Gun-ſmith he would recommend him to, adding whether he had not beſt deal with Mr. *Weſt's* (meaning Mr. *Weſt* the Lawyer's Gun-ſmith)? Whereto the ſaid *Goodenough* anſwered, that Gun-ſmith was a very honeſt Fellow, and that he need not diſtruſt him: The ſaid *Joſiah* further askt him, ſaying, you muſt have ſome Arms; Are thoſe diſpoſed that were to be ſent to *Rye*? Whereto *Goodenough* anſwered, they were not. Then the ſaid *Joſiah* askt him if they were at *Weſt's* Houſe, or at the Gun-ſmiths; Whereto *Goodenough* anſwered, they were at the Gun-ſmiths, who lived in *Sheer-lane*, on the left hand, as one goes from *Fleet-ſtreet*: And the ſaid *Joſiah* asking the ſaid *Goodenough* whether they went on with their Deſign of Killing the King and the Duke between *Windſor* and *Hampton-Court*; he the ſaid *Goodenough* replyed No, becauſe they did not uſually go together, but they would do it at the Bull-Feaſt in *Lyon-fields*. And theſe Informants further ſay Not.

14 *Die* Junii 1683.
Jurati Prædicti Johan.
& Joſiah Coramme,
Joſiah Keeling.
John Keeling.
L. Jenkins.

The Joint Information of Josiah Keeling *of the Parish of St.* Butolph *without* Aldgate, *in the County of* Middlesex, *Salter, and of* John Keeling *of the Parish of St.* Anne Black-Fryers, *Citizen and Turner*, June *the* 15*th*, 1683.

THe Informants say, That being in the Company of *Richard Goodenough* at the *Sun-Tavern* behind the *Royal Exchange*, between the hours of One and Three of the Clock on the fifteenth day of this instant *June*, 1683. They asked the said *Goodenough* what Persons of Quality would be concerned: He the said *Goodenough* replyed, That he had discoursed *William* Lord *Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*; and that the said Lord *Russel* told the aforesaid *Goodenough*, that he would be concerned in it to his utmost, and that he would use all his interest to accomplish the aforesaid Design of killing the King and the Duke of *York*: And these Informants further say, That asking the said *Goodenough*, what Collonel that was that yesterday he the said *Goodenough* told the Informants, *Josiah* and *John*, would advance eight Hundred or a Thousand pound towards carrying on the Design of Killing the King and Duke, he the said *Goodenough* Replyed, it was Collonel *Romzey*; and the Informant *Josiah* asked the said *Goodenough* whether it was that *Romsey* that Married the Lady *Smith*, and had Commanded Forces in *Portugal* for his Majesty, (*i. e.*) the King of *England*, he Replyed it was.

Witness our hands this 15*th day of* June, 1683.

JOSIAH KEELING.
JOHN KEELING.

The Information of Josiah Keeling, *given upon Oath at* Hampton-Court, *the* 23*d of* June, 1683.

AND this Informant further saith, That several Gentlemen, *viz.* Mr. *Roope*, Mr. *Fitton Gerrald*, and Mr. *Allen*, and one other, whose Name this Informant hath forgot, who as they said came to visit their honest *Wapping* Men, that this Informant would recommend to them for such, and also to Dine with

with them at ſome Tavern, which was the *Fortune* at *Wapping*, where was Mr. *Samuel Gibbs*, Mr. *Edmund Hunt*, Mr. *Robert Ferguſon*, with ſeveral other perſons that this Informant doth not remember, where the aforeſaid Gentlemen began to drink Healths, ſome of which were as followeth: To the Man that firſt draws his Sword in defence of the Proteſtant Religion, againſt Popery and Slavery: Another was to the Confuſion of the Two Brothers, Slavery and Popery; and being askt what they meant (as this Informant verily believeth) it was replyed, The Two Brothers at *Whitehal*: The next was to the pinning of *Mackinny*'s Head on the Monument for burning the City in 66. And this Informant asking what was meant, they ſaid it was the Duke of *York*. And this Informant Dining at the *Horſe-ſhoe* Tavern on *Tower-hill*, with *Edward Norton* Eſquire, Mr. *Starkey*, Mr. *Ogle*, Mr. *Goodenough*, and others forgot by this Informant, they drank the fore-ſaid Healths, and did explain them as the afore-ſaid Company did. And this Informant further ſaith; that *Fran. Goodenough* ſent a Letter to this Informant by one *Cherry*, to acquaint the ſaid Informant, That the ſaid *Goodenough* would with ſome other Gentlemen Dine at the End of the Town where this Informant dwelleth, and that this Informant would ſpeak to ſuch men as he could truſt, to meet the afore-ſaid perſons at the *Siracuſa* Houſe; There came with the afore-ſaid *Goodenough* one *John Row* late Sword-bearer at *Briſtol*, with a *Dorſetſhire* Gentleman whoſe name this Informant hath forgot; alſo at the ſame Meeting was Mr. *Edmund Hunt*, *Andrew Barber*, *William Tomſon*, *James Burton*, as this Informant verily believes, with ſeveral others forgot; where it was agreed we ſhould diſcourſe ſo that it might not be underſtood if we were overheard. Then the queſtion was if the Foot-ball was laid down, how many we might reaſonably expect would come in at firſt Laying of it down from our end of the Town to play at it? To which it was replyed, it was uncertain, but as many as were there would be concerned; to which it was anſwered by *Row* and *Goodenough*, if we would not in a little time kick the Ball effectually we ſhould be made Slaves; for ſaith *Row* the Lord Mayor hath impoſed Sheriffs upon you, and the King will take away your Charter, and then you'l be in a fine condition, and *Goodenough* ſpake to the ſame purpoſe; upon which *Hunt* replyed, That he could do as much good as any body, for that Foot-ball players often got broken ſhins, and he the ſaid *Hunt* could Cure them. And this Informant further ſaith, that this Diſcourſe was grounded upon this Foundation, What Men can be raiſed againſt the Church-Warden at *Whitehal*, which was underſtood the King. And this Informant further ſaith, that *Richard Goodenough*, and *Richard Rumbal* told this Informant, that there was a Remonſtrance or Declaration ready drawn up, which would be Printed againſt the day that this deſigned Commotion was to be, wherein they would eaſe the people of Chimney Money, which ſeemed to be moſt Grievous, eſpecially to the common people, and that they would lay the Kings Death upon the Papiſts as a continued deſign of the former Plot.

JOSIAH KEELING.

Copy

Copy of a Note given in by *Josiah Keeling* 23*d.* of *June*, and by him received from *Goodenough.*

From the Tower *Eastward on the South-side of* Rosemary-Lane *to* Maiden-head-lane, *the West-side of* Maiden-head-lane, *the North-side of* Upper Shadwel, *Westward to new* Gravel-lane, *the West-side of new* Gravel-lane *to the* Thames, *and by the* Thames *to the* Tower.

The Streets and Allies of Note within the bounds.

St. Katherine's.
East-Smithfield.
Ratcliff-High-way.
Victualling-Office.
Butcher-Row.
Redcross-street.
Armitage.
Nightingale-lane.
Artichoack-lane.
Red-Mead-lane.
Wapping.
Gun-alley.
Cross-alley.
Well-alley.
Warners Yard.
Salters-alley.
Green Bank.
Gun alley.
Pump alley.
Love-lane.
Back-alley.
Meeting-horse-alley.
Old-Gravel lane.
Brewer's-lane.
Tobacco-pipe-alley.
Cinamon-street.
Crown-street.
Queen-street.
King Edwards *Street.*
King-street.
Carman-Rents.
Crown Yard.
Harrow-alley.
Seven Star-alley.
Garter Yard.
Wests Garden.
Blew-gate field.
Fleece Yard.
Chamberlain's-alley.
Frankland-street.
Match Walk.
With all other Places within the Outbounds not Named.

The Information of Thomas Shepard, *taken by the Right Honourable the Earl of* Sunderland, *&c.* June *the 27th.* 1683.

SOme time before my Lord *Shaftsbury* went for *Holland*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Gray*, Lord *Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Colonel *Romſey*, and Mr. *Ferguſon* met at my Houſe in *Abchurch-lane*, where the ſubject of their Diſcourſe was how to ſeize Your Majeſties Guards, and in Order thereunto, as I afterwards at their next Meeting was informed, the Duke, Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, walked about that end of the Town one night, and gave an account that they found them very remiſs in their places, not like Souldiers, and that the thing, provided they could have a ſufficient ſtrength, was feaſibly enough; but finding that failed, the Project was wholly laid aſide, ſo far as I know: After that Mr. *Ferguſon* told me of a Project was on foot for Deſtroying Your Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs coming from *Newmarket*. Colonel *Romſey*, Mr. *Weſt*, and as I remember Mr. *Wade* came to my Counting-houſe one Evening, and began to Diſcourſe of it; upon which I told them, that ſuppoſing they ſhould effect what they talked of, it could not be expected that if the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould be Crowned, but in Honour and for his own Vindication, he muſt ſearch out the Aſſaſſins, and both Try and Execute them: So that inſtead of expecting a Reward, they muſt loſe their Lives; upon which they ceaſed their Diſcourſe, and went away ſoon after. Some time after this, Mr. *Ferguſon* told me of a general Inſurrection intended both in *England* and *Scotland*, and in order to it, that Sir *John Cochran*, Mr. *Bayly*, Mr. *Monro*, Sir *Hugh* and Sir *George Cambell*, were come up to Treat with ſome of our Engliſh Men about it; and that the Lord of *Argile* had made a Propoſition, That if they would Raiſe him Thirty Thouſand pounds he would begin it in *Scotland*, but finding no hopes of Raiſing that Sum, the Scotch were willing to accept of Ten Thouſand pounds: And by means of a Letter, which came as I was informed (for there was no Name ſubſcribed) from one Mr. *Stewart*, to ſome unknown Man, which I have forgot; Concluding then that it was intended to Mr. *Bayly*, or ſome other of thoſe Gentlemen, having had ſome ſmall acquaintance with Mr. *Stewart*, formerly by means of his Brother, who was then a Merchant in *Burdeaux*, and one of my Correſpondents, I came acquainted with Mr. *Bayly*, who told me from time to time what ſteps they made in't, how he Converſed with the Duke, Lord *Ruſſel*, Major *W.* and as I remember, Colonel *Sidney*; and that he had divers promiſes of the Money, and deſired it might be paid into my Hands; at length he told me that Five Thouſand pounds they had agreed to Raiſe amongſt themſelves, and that they expected the other half ſhould be Raiſed in the City; but finding no Monies could be got in the City, that Project fell likewiſe, and as Mr. *Bayly* told me, all his Country-men were going beyond Sea.

A few days after came out the Diſcovery, and I never ſaw any of them ſince. Mr. *Ferguſon* told me that my Lord *Eſſex* was hearty in this buſineſs, and that *John Trenchard* was a Man to be depended upon in the Weſt: They had likewiſe good hopes of Sir *William Courtney*, and that my Lord *Shaftsbury* had ſent Captain *Walcot* down to him, who returned with a very cool Anſwer that he found them not what he expected, but believed if it came to a Riſing, they would prove right enough, I had almoſt forgot to acquaint your Majeſty that both Mr. *Ferguſon* and Mr. *Bayly* told me; That Mr. *Charleton* had once promiſed to ſee the Ten Thouſand pound paid.

Thomas Shepard.

Jurat coram Me
June 27. 1683.

SUNDERLAND.

The Information of Joſeph How *of the Pariſh of St.* Giles's *without* Cripple-gate, *in the County aforeſaid* Diſtiller, *taken upon Oath before Sir* Reginald Foreſter *Baronet, this* 15*th day of* June 1683. *againſt* Thomas Lea *of* Old-*ſtreet in the Pariſh aforeſaid, in the County aforeſaid* Dyer, *for ſpeaking of Dangerous and Seditious Words.*

THis Informant Depoſeth and ſayeth, That the ſaid *Thomas Lea*, being at his Houſe in *White-Croſs-ſtreet*, on *Thurſday* laſt, between two and three of the Clock in the Afternoon, being the 14th of this inſtant *June*: The ſaid *Thomas Lea*, was diſcourſing with him, this Informant, about the loſs of the City Charter, and other things; upon which the ſaid *Thomas Lea* fell into a Paſſion, and told this Informant that he was one of the number of Ten Thouſand Men, which were deſigned to be ready at an hours warning, and in Order thereunto, there was Twenty Thouſand pounds in Bank to carry on the Undertaking; and many more did every day ſubſcribe mony or engage their perſonal aſſiſtance: And the firſt enterprize they venture upon, is to go very near *Windſor*, and for to ſeize the *Black-Bird* and the *Gold-Finch*; and that Three Hundred Men were deſigned for that Enterprize: And afterwards to ſeize the Militia, *Whitehal*, and the *Tower*:

But

But this Informant anſwered that he judged it impoſſible, the *Tower* being now ſo very Strong; but the ſaid *Thomas Lea* told him that he had been round the *Tower* in Company with a Captain of a Ship, and had found out a place where a breach might be made, which is to be done by placing ſome Ships on the *Thames* ſide, with Mortar Pieces therein to diſmount the Guns; and alſo to bring the Major part of thoſe Seamen which were in Arrears of Pay to perform the work, they being angry and in want, therefore the fitter for that purpoſe: And that for the better carrying of the Deſign, ſeveral Meetings are held (as this day for one) at the *Kings-head* Tavern in *Athiſt-Ally* near the *Royal Exchange*, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon: Further Informeth not.

Joſeph How.

Regin. Foreſter.

June

June 25, 1683. *The Examination of Colonel* John Romſey.

THis Examinant ſaith, That in *October* or *November* laſt, there was an Inſurrection intended by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and That the ſaid Earl of *Shaftsbury* told this Examinant, that *Briſtol* was to be his Poſt, and the Examinant being asked what Perſons of Quality or Capacity to Command as Officers, were named as intended to take part in this Inſurrection; He Anſwered, That he heard my Lord *Ruſſel* named and complained of, and Mr. *John Trenchard* named by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and this Examinant further ſaith, that *Row* the Sword-bearer of *Briſtol* told him, That Mr. *Weſt* had acquainted him the ſaid *Row*, that there was an intention to Aſſaſſinate the King at His coming from *Newmarket* in *October* laſt: the Examinant doth not remember whether the Duke was there or no, but that if he were he was likewiſe to have been killed (as the ſaid *Row* told this Examinant) and this Examinant further ſaith, That about the latter end of *November*, or the beginning of *December* laſt, this Examinant having Matters of Law depending, became acquainted with Mr. *Robert Weſt*, and employed him as his Refereé therein; That the ſaid *Weſt* acquainted this Examinant with the Deſign to Murther the King at His coming from *Newmarket* in *October* laſt; and told this Examinant, That though it miſcarried at that time, it was not to be given over ſo, and therefore deſired that he this Examinant, Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, and ſome others which he cannot charge his Memory withal, ſhould meet at his the ſaid *Weſt*'s Chamber, where this Examinant and they did meet within three or four days after, to the beſt of this Examinants Remembrance, and there Diſcourſed about the ſame Deſign, and let it fall at that time; and this Examinant further ſaith, That about the Month of *February* laſt, the above-ſaid Perſons met with this Examinant at the ſaid Mr. *Weſt*'s Chamber, to conſider how the Deſign ſhould be brought to effect at the Kings return from *Newmarket*; and Mr. *Weſt*, and Mr. *Richard Goodenough* undertook to find out Men for that purpoſe. And this Examinant further ſaith, That about this time the ſaid *Weſt* and *Goodenough* did deſire that this Examinant would be acquainted with *Richard Rumball* of the *Rye* near *Hogsden* in *Hertfordſhire*, who was the Man that would undertake to Command the Party that ſhould take off the King and the Duke: and that at their deſire this Examinant did conſent to a Meeting with the ſaid *Rumball*. When *Richard Goodenough* brought this Examinant to meet Mr. *Rumball* at the *Angel* Tavern near the *Old Exchange*, the ſaid *Rumball* acquainted this Examinant how the Ground lay, and would have had him gone down to ſee it, but this Examinant refuſed it. And this Examinant further ſaith, That after that they had ſeveral Meetings, to try if they could make up the Number of Forty or Fifty Men for that purpoſe, under which Number the ſaid *Rumball* would not undertake it. And this Examinant further ſaith, That at their next Meeting two or three days before or after the Kings coming from

Newmarket

New-market in *March* laſt, They did reſolve that Arms ſhould be bought againſt the next Journey to *New Market* in *Autumn* or any other opportunity, as at the Play-Houſe or coming from *Windſor* to *Hampton-Court*, or otherwiſe: And that Mr. *Weſt* did undertake to provide ſo many Caſes of Piſtols, ſo many Carbines, and ſo many Blunderbuſſes, and this Examinant thinks Ten Muſquets: And that it was reſolved, That there ſhould be Arms provided for Fifty Men at leaſt. And this Examinant further ſaith, That the Men were to be divided, ſome to ſhoot the Poſtillion and Horſes, ſome to Fire upon the King and Duke into the Coach and the remainder to Charge the Guards. And that there was alſo a Cart to be laid in the way, by which means the Coach ſhould be hindred from going on. That the ſaid *Rumbal* ſaid at their next Meeting, after the Kings Paſſing by his Houſe, that there were but four of the Guards Attending the Coach, and that if he had had but a ſmall number of Men with him, he could have taken off the King and the Duke with Eaſe: And this Examinant further ſaith, that at this laſt Meeting Captain *Walcot* was there preſent. And this Examinant further ſaith, that he did not meet again in five or ſix Weeks after with the ſaid Company though often preſs't by Mr. *Weſt* that it was not fit to give it over. And this Examinant further ſaith, That this Examinant, the ſaid *Goodenough*, *Weſt*, *Walcot*, *Norton*, *Wade* and *Holloway*, did Meet at Mr. *Weſts* Chamber about three weeks or a Month ſince; and did then reſolve to try what Men could be Raiſed in *London* and the Liberties; and that they might be more certain, *London* was Divided into Twenty Parts; and Mr. *Holloway*, Mr. *Wade* and Mr. *Weſt*, undertook to make the Diviſion; and Mr. *Weſt* and *Goodenough* did undertake to find a Man for every Diviſion that ſhould bring in the certain number that they could Raiſe reſpectively. And this Examinant further ſaith, that in the firſt Fortnight or thereabouts they did very little; but the next Meeting after Mr. *Goodenough* brought in an account of ſeven Diviſions, which amounted to Three Thouſand Nine Hundred Men or thereabouts; and that he the ſaid *Goodenough* did believe that the remaining Diviſions would afford as many Men more: And it was further reſolved at that time, that the Deſign in hand ſhould be kept ſecret until ſuch time as the return of the whole Diviſions ſhould be brought in.

And this Examinant being further asked, whether he did hear any Commanders or Commiſſion-Officers Named to Command theſe Forces, he ſaith he heard of no particular Names, but in General that there were a Hundred old Officers about the Town; that after that they certainly knew how many Men all the Diviſions would amount to they then reſolved this Examinant ſhould carry the Propoſal of Commanding theſe Forces to the Duke of *Monmouth*; but the Liſtings not being finiſhed, he never ſaid any thing of it to his Grace. And this Examinant further ſaith, that the pretence to make this Levy of Men was to aſſert Religion and Liberties. And this Examinant further ſaith, that there was a Declaration deſigned to be Publiſhed when theſe Forces ſhould be up; but that to the beſt of his memory he never ſaw it nor heard it Read, but he believes ſome part of it was Diſcourſed of in this Examinants preſence; as that touching Liberty of Conſcience, and

ſomething relating to the Law and the Judges. And this Examinant further ſaith, That to the beſt of his memory on Tueſday laſt was Sennight, this Examinant, Captain *Walcot*, *Weſt*, *Nelthrop*, *Goodenough* and *Wade*, met at the *Salutation* Tavern in *Lombard-ſtreet*, to know what progreſs *Goodenough* had made in the other Thirteen Diviſions, who told this Examinant and the reſt, that he had done nothing ſince the laſt Meeting; but that he was to meet with ſome perſons that Afternoon, who were to give him a further Account: And this Examinant further ſaith that after they had Dined, one that was a Stranger to this Examinant came into the Room to ſpeak with Mr. *Goodenough*, and that Mr. *Weſt* asked him, if he had ſeen the *Gazette* of that day, in which was a Relation of a Commotion in *Cologne* by one *Gulick*, and told him he ſhould be our *Gulick*, for that in Dutch *Gu*----was *Keil* and *ick* was *ing*, telling this in a jeſting manner. And this Examinant further ſaith that on Saturday laſt was Sennight, he this Examinant, Mr. *Weſt*, and Mr. *Norton*, met at the *George* Tavern upon *Ludgate-hill*, and then this Examinant was told that a Diſcovery was made of what they had been doing; and at preſent this Examinant further ſaith not.

J. Romzey.

25 *Die* Junii 1683.
Capt. & Recognit. Coram,

Albemarle.
L. Jenkins.

Further Informations of Colonel Romzey.

FUrther this Examinant ſaith, that Mr. *Ferguſon* and the reſt did in ſeveral Meetings ſince the beginning of *February* preſs for the having the Men got ready that were to Kill the King and Duke, and it was told him by Mr. *Goodenough* and *Richard Rumbal* and *Weſt*, that a great many were poor and could not furniſh themſelves with Horſes or Arms; this was preſently after his coming out of *Holland*: Mr. *Ferguſon* replyed, he would provide the Money; and in two Meetings afterwards he told them he had Six Hundred pounds ready in Gold, that they might depend on him, when they had got the Forty or Fifty Men, under which number *Richard Rumbal* would not undertake it; and then *Rumbal* and the reſt asked *Ferguſon* at the firſt Meeting we had, if he thought the Duke of *Monmouth* would not revenge the Kings Death, and Hang thoſe that had been the Actors; Mr. *Ferguſon* very freely undertook to have it under the Dukes Hand againſt the next Meeting, but when we met, he told them there was no ſaying any ſuch thing to the Duke; but he ſaid that we

muſt

must all be ruined if it were not done: Then they asked if the Duke would appear when it was done; to which he made answer, That a Person would be there, but he must be excused for Naming any Names, and desired not to be pressed: I told them always they were not to trust to what Mr. *Ferguson* said, for he was so willing to have the most Barbarous Murther done, that he would say any thing to encourage them to do it; such Discourse as this hapned several times at our meetings, some saying, When our Swords were in our Hands, if he would not protect them, that then he should be cut off too: Such Hellish Discourses as these we entertained our selves with, until the News of the Firing of *New-Market* came to Town: And then Mr. *Ferguson* sent for most of us, and was earnest that *Goodenough* and *Rumbald* should get what Men they could, and that he could help them with Six, and that *Rumbald* should attempt it with as many as could be got, but it was given over for that time, because neither Arms nor Horses were ready; then he promised that he would immediately get the Six Hundred pounds into his own hands to provide all things in a readiness against the first opportunity, whether at the Play-House, between *Hampton-Court*, or going to *Wincheſter*; and said that some persons were already out to see a fit place to do it in, and if it could not be done before that, then all things should be ready against the King and Dukes going down to *New-Market*, as Horses bought and kept in a readiness, and Arms which Mr. *West* undertook to do, he being acquainted with a Gun-smith, and upon Mr. *Ferguson's* Promise that he would procure the Money, Mr. *West* bespoke the Arms, and they were ready in a very little time: But when Mr. *West* came and told Mr. *Ferguson* that the Arms were ready (for six Weeks now I did not see *Ferguson*, but Mr. *West* acquainted me with all passed as follows,) he told the said *West* that his Friend had not brought him the Money as he promised; also Mr. *West* was forced to pay for the Arms out of his own Money, which was not repaied him as he told this Examinant not above twenty days since or thereabouts: The said *West* told this Examinant that Mr. *Ferguson* told him he might send for his Money when he would, by a Note to Major *W.* but he must tell him the Name that he would make the Note payable to, that he might tell the same to Major *W.* the Name I have forgot. In some very few days after, as he the said *West* told this Examinant, the said *Ferguson* told him, that he must not send any Body or Note to receive the said Hundred pounds, but *Richard Rumbald*, because the said *W.* would not trust any body else; *West* sent the said *Rumbald* very early one Morning, but the said Major *W.* was gone out of Town before he came to the House, which he went and acquainted the said *Ferguson* with: In a few days after the said *Ferguson* paid the said *West* a Hundred pounds in Gold, and as the said *West* then told this Examinant, that the said *Ferguson* told him, he did receive the said Hundred pounds of Mr. *Charlton*; and about fourteen days since the said *West* and this Examinant going to Mr. *Ferguson*, he told us that there was Three Thousand pounds Raised for to buy Horses, and to maintain them and the Men in a Readiness, that if any opportunity offered all might be ready; but did not tell us from whom he was to have this Money, neither did either of us ask him any question about it. Further this Examinant

saith,

ſaith, That to the beſt of his Remembrance, in *January* laſt, Mr. *Nelthrop* told this Examinant, that meeting Colonel *Sidney*, he told him that now ſomething would be done, for that it was reſolved to ſend ſome perſons into *Scotland* to ſome Gentlemen there to come to Town, that they might know what the Scots would do, but they knew not of a Man fit to ſend; and the ſaid *Nelthrop* told this Examinant that he recommended one Mr. *Aaron Smith* as a fit man. And further this Examinant ſaith, That the ſaid *Nelthrop* told this Examinant that the Colonel and others had ſent him (*Aaron Smith*) with a Letter to Sir *John Cochran* to adviſe him and his Friends to come to *London* about their *Carolina* affairs, and that a good Gelding was bought for him, or Money given to him to buy one; as alſo Money was given him by Colonel *Owen* to pay his Expences on the Road and alſo that ſome Money was given to his Wife for her Maintenance, ſhe being in poverty. Upon this Letter Sir *John Cochran* came to *London*, and ſome other Scotch Gentlemen, whoſe Names this Examinant does not know, but as the ſaid *Nelthrop* and Mr. *Ferguſon* did acquaint this Examinant, they were to Treat with ſome of this Nation what was to be done for the Delivery of the Nations: The ſaid *Ferguſon* told this Examinant, That the Scotch Gentlemen did acquaint thoſe they Treated with (not Naming any of their Names) that their people were in very great Poverty, but very willing to ſet themſelves at Liberty, but they had no Arms nor Ammunition nor Money to buy any and without they could let them have Money to furniſh Arms and Ammunition, they could do nothing. During this laſt Tranſaction of the Scots for Money, I did not ſee Mr. *Ferguſon*, but Mr. *Weſt* who went conſtantly to him did tell me their Diſcourſe; as that ſometimes the Scotch Gentlemen were departing diſcontented, and then again in three or four days that they were like to agree and that Money ſhould be provided for them: Often he told me of ſuch changes as theſe in that Tranſaction and that Mr. *Ferguſon* did aſſure the ſaid *Weſt*, that the Money would be all paid in one week; I anſwered the ſaid *Weſt*, who would have had me gone to *Ferguſon*, that I would not ſee him until I was certain it was paid, for the ſaid *Ferguſon* undertook much and did nothing but promiſe what he could not do. There was a Debate what Declaration ſhould be preſently after the Murther of the King and Duke and amongſt other things a Free Parliament was one Head, Liberty of Conſcience was another: That thoſe that had their Lands taken from them at the Kings Reſtauration ſhould have them returned. A Reformation of the Expenſive part of the Law. Mr. *Ferguſon* undertook that one ſhould be ready. Mr. *Weſt* did further acquaint this Examinant, that my Lord *Howard* had been at his Chamber to Pump him the ſaid *Weſt* what we were doing, and that his Lordſhip did deſire to have a Meeting with the ſaid *Weſt* and this Examinant, which neither the ſaid *Weſt* nor this Examinant were willing to; and the ſaid *Weſt* did further acquaint this Examinant that my Lord *Howard* did propoſe a Council of Ten to meet; but we not conſenting to meet, the ſaid *Weſt* did civilly put off the Propoſition, as he the ſaid *Weſt* did inform this Examinant. And further this Examinant ſaith, That Diſcourſing with Mr. *Weſt* and Mr. *Goodenough*, and others about the Scotch Affair,

fair, they did tell me, That the last Spring there was a Treaty with the Earl of *Argile*, and that then without Money the Scots declared they could not begin, but that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* broke that Designe, not consenting to pay the Money: This Examinant never heard any thing of this Design, until the said *West*, *Norton* and *Goodenough* did tell him thereof. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Nelthrop* and Mr. *Wade* did always oppose the Murthering of the King and the Duke, and so did Captain *Walcot*, but at last the said *Walcot* consented. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Bourn*, and Mr. *Goodenough*'s Brother were at some of the last Meetings about the raising of the Men: This Examinant saith, That to the best of his Memory he hath here set down every thing that was said or Transacted in the Debates when he was there, but he was absent from some.

J. Romzey.

Colonel Romzey's *further Information.*

THis Examinant further saith, That being sent by the Earl of *Shaftsbury* about the beginning of *November* last to Mr. *Shepard's* a Merchant near *Lombard-street*, where was the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Russel*, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong* and Mr. *Ferguson*; this Examinant told them my Lord *Shaftsbury* had sent him to tell them it was high time to come to some Resolution about the Rising; They made him this Answer by Mr. *Ferguson* (and afterwards my Lord *Grey* said words to the same effect) that Mr. *John Trenchard* had promised and assured them at his first coming to Town that Term, that he could in four hours time have a Thousand Foot and Two or Three Hundred Horse, but now they had sent to him to know the certainty, he had returned to them this following answer; That Men would not be got from home on two or three days warning, but that when such a thing as a Rising should be, he must know it sooner, that he might acquaint Men to make Provision of Settlements for their Families; so they could not go on at this time any further. And for this reason, and that they heard Sir *William Courtney* would not stir, my Lord must be contented. This Message I returned to my Lord: On this my Lord resolved to leave *England*. This Examinant further saith, That there was a Project of Government drawn up by Mr. *West* and Mr. *Wade*, which they delivered to this Examinant, and he gave it to Mr. *Ferguson*, who told them that he heard Colonel *Sidney* had drawn one, that he would compare them together and reduce them into one intire one. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Nelthrop* told him that my Lord of *Essex*, my Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, and young Mr. *Hamden* were the persons that did Treat with the Scotch Gentlemen, and so did Mr. *West*, and I think Mr. *Ferguson*. Mr. *Nelthrop* and Mr. *West*, during the time I did not see Mr. *Ferguson*, told me that now they were resolved to raise Ten Thousand pounds for the Scots, and that next week it

ſhould all be paid in; that was about a Month ſince. But they had been with Mr. *Shepard* the Merchant, and he told them there was none paid. This Money was to buy Arms in *Holland*. Mr. *Ferguſon* told this Examinant the Riſing muſt be in *Scotland* before Harveſt, or elſe their people would not be got together; and that in four days after the Scots were up we ſhould have the firſt Intelligence and that then we muſt Riſe in this Town and in *Taunton*. My Lord *Howard* was at firſt one with my Lord *Eſſex* and the reſt, but he told Captain *Walcot* and Mr. *Weſt* what paſſed amongſt them, for which reaſon he was left out of the meetings. Further this Examinant ſaith, that Mr. *Wade* and *Holloway* told him how they had fixed the matter for *Briſtol*; that they were ſure of Three Hundred Men, and that they would Poſt them in all the croſs Streets, ſo that none of the other party ſhould get together in a Body or out of their Houſes. By this means they ſhould be Maſters of the Town without ſpilling one drop of Blood. And this Examinant further ſaith that *Goodenough* told *Wade*, *Weſt* and this Examinant, that about twenty five Hundred Arms would be wanting for the Men that would Riſe here; for without they were Armed that were on the firſt to Riſe here, we ſhould be beat; therefore *Weſt* and this Examinant did acquaint Mr. *Ferguſon* from the reſt that did meet, of the neceſſity of having ſo many Arms. He replied, Money ſhould not be wanting; but how ſo many Arms could be bought without a diſcovery? Mr. *Weſt* did undertake that if Money were given, the Arms might be had; and ſome perſon of the Company did name a Gun-ſmith that was an honeſt Man that might without ſuſpition have two or three Hundred Arms, and other Gun-ſmiths might, if enquired after, be found, that might lodge proportionable quantities in their Shops, and the Men ſhould be led to theſe Shops and Armed. It was ſaid by *Goodenough* that ſix Hundred Arms were together in the Artillery Ground, which might be eaſily ſeized on. Many debates we had about the *Tower*; ſome propoſed the taking of it by day-time, by ſending ſome Men onely with Pocket Piſtols, and when the Sign was given they were to fall on the Guard; but this was left off as not agreeing with a Riſing by night; and then the other way was to clap two or three hundred Fagots to the Gates and ſet them on Fire, which would make thoſe within ſurrender and that Ships ſhould come and lie before the *Tower* and batter it at the ſame time the Fagots were on fire.

J. Romzey.

Colonel

Colonel *Romzeys* Letter to the Earl of *Rochester* concerning the Scotch Pedlars.

My Lord,

WHen the Rising was to have been in November, *Mr.* Ferguson *did say that he could promise for Three Hundred Scots in this Town that would be ready at a days warning, and that there was in* England *Twelve Hundred that might be depended upon; that Three or Four Hundred did always abide here, the rest were scattered throughout* England *with Packs on their Backs for the Maintenance of themselves; that a great many of them were Gentlemens Sons and all of them had been at* Bothwel-Bridge, *and betook them to this way to get (and carry) Intelligence as well as a living.*

J. Romzey.

Another

Another Letter from Colonel *Romzey* to the Earl of *Rochester.*

My Lord,

I *Do not know whether I have already in any of my Papers where I mention* Mr. Roe, *acquainted the King of one paſſage he told me, (but I think I have) that* Gibbons *the Duke of* Monmouths *Footman did tell him, that nothing but taking off the Two Brothers would do the buſineſs, and if he would go with him, he would ſhew him the place to do it; he carried him to my Lord of* Bedfords *Garden, where I think he told me is a Mount to look into* Covent Garden, *and ſaid no place can be like this to lodge Men in to do the feat and ſhewed him the Garden-door where they might make a Sally on the Coach if they miſt with their Fire. Mr.* Roe *asked him, but how will you bring the Men in? He told him my Lord was long in the Country, and he was ſo well acquainted with the Porter and Servants that he could have the Key at any time. The ſaid* Gibbons *told Sir* Thomas Armſtrong *as if* Roe *had propoſed it to* Gibbons, *and Sir* Thomas *came to me in a great Paſſion and told me what I have related, and bid me ſpeak to* Roe *to warn him of talking of any ſuch thing. When I did ſpeak to* Roe *he Confeſſed the thing, but that* Gibbons *moved it to him, for he knew not any thing of my Lord of* Bedfords *Garden or Servants.*

~~*This was to be done as the King came from the Play.*~~ *I cannot recollect whether I was twice at Mr.* Shepards *with the Duke of* Monmouth, *&c. or but once; but if I was but once, then I heard Mr.*Ferguſon *relate to my Lord of* Shaftsbury *ſome part of their Debates at another time, as that they had reſolved of the* 19*th of* November *for the Riſing and ſome Heads of a Declaration: Whether I heard this Debate at Mr.*Shepards *or at my Lord* Shaftsburies *Lodgings I cannot be poſitive in, but Mr.* Shepard *I believe may remember.*

J. Romzey.

The

The further Information of Colonel Romsey.

THis Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Ferguson* was at this Examinants House for seven or eight nights, intermitting a night two or three, which time he told me he went to his Wife. During the time he was at my House, the Duke of *Monmouth* came to see him, to the best of my remembrance twice; the first time I was with them, and all the discourse that passed was about my Lord *Shaftsburie*'s death, and relating the Affairs of *Holland* and the Confederates, the Duke not staying a quarter of an hour. The next time I was not in the room with them. Sir *Thomas Armestrong* came several times in a Morning to see him, sometimes before I was stiring; the first time I shewed him the room where he lay, and did not go in with him, but went to dress me, I being in my shirt.

Andrew Barbers *Informations read in Council,* —23 June, 1683.

ON Saturday morning, about the latter end of *March* last past, Mr. *Keeling* came to me, and told me that he and some other Friends of mine would have me come to the *Mitre* Tavern within *Aldgate*, because they would drink a glass of Wine with me; and there I came to them, and found Mr. *Rumbal*, a one Eyed man, Mr. *Keeling*, *Burton*, and *Thompson*, I sate down with them and drank; soon after Mr. *Rumbald* fell into Discourse concerning getting of Arms to his House; he was speaking he thought it would be a good way to send them in a Barge, but he concluded 'twould not be safe; but said, he thought that those that would be concerned should ride with Arms themselves betimes in the Morning or in the Night and so come to his House, and there they should be refreshed and their Horses, till he should order them what to do. Some I understand were to continue on Horseback, and they that were to kill the Horses, Coachman, and Postillion, and to shoot into the Coach were to be on foot; and he would order Carts to be set cross the Road for to hinder them. So then *Rumbald* asked if we could shoot well, I told him I could not, I never shot at a mark in my life; the others said, let them alone for that; says *Keeling*, he is a good Souldier and a lusty man, what do you think of him? he made no answer, so I answered I was no Souldier fit for that work, and said that it would be Murder to Kill, and he said it would be a means not to Kill, but to save many thousand mens Lives. When I had done, he said he would order some to bring word what Coach by the colour of the Horses, that they may not be mistaken, for this was to be as I understood in *Rumbalds* own ground, for his House joyns to the Road; and he said they must come by his House to come to *London*, so he said he would ingage his Life to do it, if he had but Thirty men, but he expected Forty: and for Horses Mr. *Keeling* said, he would get as many as he could, but it was not concluded on, by reason *Rumbald* did expect to have seen more at

that place, but Mr. *Keeling* promiſed him they ſhould be ready at the next Meeting, which was to be the next Wedneſday after, as I remember, but then I reſolved never to come into their company more, nor be concerned with them, becauſe I did underſtand there would be Murther committed, nor have been in their company ſince, nor I never ſaw that *Rumbald* before nor ſince. Likewiſe I replied, if you ſhould do ſo, how will you eſcape? *Rumbald* anſwered, he would fight his way through, and ſeparate themſelves into By-roads, and make what way they could for *London*, and then they ſhould do well enough. All this time I never heard that this was intended againſt the King, for he was never mentioned in any reſpect, that I did underſtand, but I did verily believe that it was meant by his Royal Highneſs. So we paid our reckoning, which was I think ſix pence apiece, and they went towards the *Exchange*, but I directly home, and have not been in their company ſince, nor no other tending to ſuch evil work.

Andrew Barber.

Moreover, *Rumbald* ſaid, that there was never above one or two that rid before the Coach; and likewiſe, if they could get to *Cambridge* Heath, or thereabouts, they ſhould have friends enough for their help.

In the Gate-houſe *the 29th* June, 83. *Major* Holmes *Confeſſed.*

THat in order to the late Earl of *Argile*'s going into *Scotland*, and raiſing a Rebellion there, he had propoſed that 30000 *l. Sterling* ſhould be ſent to him from hence, by ſome great perſons, with whom a Treaty was held for that purpoſe by *Ferguſon*; but that they refuſed to advance ſo great a ſum yet, condeſcended to ſend him 10000 *l.* which *Holmes* knoweth not whether the late Earl hath accepted of, as ſufficient for effectuating that deſign.

Upon his being ask'd who were the great men by whoſe means the Money was to be advanced, he proteſted that he had never converſed with any of them, but that he had heard often the Duke of *Monmouth* and particularly the Lord *Ruſſel* named; and as to the Lord *Grey*, he did not remember that his Lordſhip was mentioned unto him in the matter of Money, but did confeſs that he had frequently been told of his being ingaged in, and a promoter of the deſign in general.

He confeſſed that the Letter marked *Numb.* 2. is from the Counteſs of *Argile* to her Husband, and that he was to have ſent it away by the Poſt laſt Tueſday into *Holland*, had he not been taken into Cuſtody. That it was directed for *Peter Harvie* Linnen Weaver (which is not a true name) in *Bow Church-yard*, and was left at one Mr. *Browns* Houſe a Sider-Seller there, where *Holmes* uſually received her Letters under that borrowed name, but ſaith that he cannot decypher this, nor any of her Letters.

As to the long Letter marked *Numb.* 3. he proteſts he cannot Decipher it, nor can poſitively ſay for whom it was to have been directed, yet thinks it was to have been carried by *Caſtarres* to *Ferguſn*, and by him to the chief men concerned in the Deſign.

Upon

Upon inquiring what is become of the parcel of Books, which are the Printed Case of the Earl of *Argile*, and in what method they were brought over from *Holland*, he confessed that they had been shipped on board of a Vessel, called (to the best of his memory) the *Success* of *Colchester*, bound for *London*, and that *Spence* was afterwards to come in the Passage Boat designed to have come to *Graves-end*, but that the wind having been very cross, he came on shoar at, or somewhat near *Harwich*, from whence he came by Land to *London*.

Upon asking what was meant by the Figures 80 and 81, in the Letters marked *Numb.* 5. he said he did not well remember, but when I told him that I knew by the Cypher, Money was meant by 50, and Officers by 51. he confessed that it was so; whereupon I did observe to him, that as the late Earl was to have had Money, so he was to have been furnished with Officers for the carrying on the Rebellion in *Scotland*, which also he confessed, but said withal, that this Letter was intended for his Lady, which he knew by a mark on the back, and shewed it to me.

The Examination of Robert Blaney *of the Middle* Temple *Esq*; 29 June, 83.

THis Examinant Deposeth and saith, That this Deponent was invited about *Christmas* last, on Wednesday the 27th day of *December* last, (as near as he can remember) by *John Row*, late Sword-bearer of the City of *Bristol*, to Dine with Collonel *John Rumzey*, at his House in *Soho Square*, where were present the said Colonel *Romzey*, *Robert West*, *Richard Goodenough*, *Joseph Tyley* of *Lincolns Inn* Esq; *Christopher Battiscomb* Gent. and the said *John Row*, and this Examinant; where being together after dinner, and much Wine and other strong drink drank in the said company, a Discourse was began, but by whom this Examinant cannot remember, about the times being very bad and dangerous for Sober Men, and what Remedies were fit to redress Grievances, and rid our selves of Arbitrary Power, or to that effect; and it was there likewise discoursed and said, but by whom in particular this Examinant cannot exactly remember it being so long since, that we should never be well till we were rid of two people, by whom as this Examinant did apprehend, were meant His Majesty and his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*. And it was likewise said, That if the Great People did but agree to Joyn and Rise, or words to that effect it might be done, for the Countries were all willing and ready; then as this Examinant doth remember by some one, it was in the said company proposed, and as he verily believes by the said Mr. *West*, that either a Deed of Bargain and Sale, or Lease and Release (one of them it was) should be executed to bar both Him in Possession, and Him in Remainder; by which as this Examinant did then apprehend, was meant the taking off His Majesty and his Royal Highness, and so he believes the rest of the said company did also. And a glass of Wine did pass round the said Table as a Health to the Executing of the said Bargain and Sale, or Lease and Release, (which he cannot tell, but one o them it was.) And this Examinant further saith, that he never was present at any other Consultation with the

the before-named perſons, or any others about the Death of the King, or his Royal Highneſs, or the raiſing of any Rebellion, that this Examinant can remember; except that being very frequently as a familiar Acquaintance with the ſaid Mr. *Weſt*, he hath often asked him, and the ſaid Colonel *Rumzey*, whether the great Men would do any thing, and whether any buſineſs would be done; or he uſed words to that effect, but they did conſtantly as this Examinant remembers anſwer him No, that nothing would be done; and the ſaid Colonel *Rumzey* ſeemed (as this Examinant did apprehend) to be very ſhy of him this Examinant; and much like Diſcourſe this Examinant hath had with the ſaid *Goodenoughs*, but never was as he remembers acquainted with the proſecution or particulars of ſuch a Deſign in the leaſt. And one *Nathaniel Wade* alſo this Examinant hath had ſome ſuch Diſcourſe with, about freeing our ſelves from Arbitrary Power and Popery by a general Riſing, but any particular ways and methods for the ſame, or otherwiſe, this Examinant never knew of, or was privy to. And further at preſent this Deponent cannot recollect.

Robert Blaney.

29 Jun. 83. *Jurat. coram me*

L. JENKINS.

The further Examination of Robert Blaney, July 1. 83.

WHo ſaith, That he ſaw *Ferguſon* ſince the Earl of *Shaftsburies* death, in the Houſe of one *Bourne* a Brewer, living in *Queen-ſtreet* over againſt the Lord Keepers; that it was about a quarter of a year ſince; that *Ferguſon* was in a Night-gown, and therefore he believes he lay in that Houſe; that the Diſcourſe they had was about the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and his death.

This Examinant ſaith, that about three weeks after the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had concealed himſelf, he ſaw him at a Merchants Houſe, whoſe name he remembers not, but the Houſe is in *Woodſtreet*, near St. *Albans* Church, the corner Houſe, having a little Yard before it, next door to a Houſe that was one Mr. *Biddolphs*.

He ſaith, he knows nothing of the manner of the Earl of *Shaftsburies* Eſcape, nor of *Ferguſons*, nor knows no other places but the abovementioned, where either of them were at any time concealed.

He remembers that he was twice or thrice at the Sign of the Sugarloaf, near the *Devil Tavern* with *Ferguſon*, and once with another perſon, who he thinks was young *Shute*, about the time the Earl of *Shaftſbury* abſented himſelf; but that *Ferguſon* was not then diſguiſed, but in the Habit he uſed commonly to wear, which was a Ruſſet colour Campane Coat, and a brown ſhort Perewig.

Thomas

Thomas Lee *Dyer of* Old-ſtreet, *his Confeſſion,* 1, *and* 2 July, 1685.

I Having been often in the Company of Mr. *John Atherton*, he told me, about *May* laſt, that Mr. *Goodenough* muſt ſpeak with me, and Mr. *William Thomas*. We went to the *Salutation* Tavern in *Lumbard-ſtreet*, Mr. *Goodenough* came to tell us and then drew out ſome Papers, (but I ſaw not what was in them) and there told us that our Rights and Priviledges were Invaded and that ſome Gentlemen had taken into conſideration how to retrieve them or words to that effect; and did then ask us whether we were willing to aſſiſt, and then told us that the City and Suburbs were divided into Twenty parts, and did deſire us to ſee what men we could get and told us, that we muſt diſcourſe with them about a Forreign Invaſion at firſt and if that took, then we might know of them, whether they would be willing to aſſiſt in their own perſons, or by Money; Some time after we met Mr *Goodenough* at the *Amſterdam* Coffee-houſe in *Bartholemew-lane*; I told him that I had acquainted Mr. *Charles Bateman* and he deſired to ſpeak with Mr. *Goodenough*. That Mr. *Bateman* told me I muſt have a care, and ſpeak at a great diſtance that he was willing to aſſiſt, if he could ſee but a cloud as big as a mans hand and after I called on Mr. *Bateman*, and went with him to a Sea-Captains, and from thence to the Duke of *Monmouths* Houſe in *Soho* Square. As we went, Mr. *Bateman* told me that the Duke had told him, that he was glad that ever he came acquainted with thoſe Proteſtant Lords; and did aſſure me that the Duke was very right for the Proteſtant Intereſt and that we need not miſtruſt him and then we called to ſee Mr. *Goodenough*, but were too late. The ſame afternoon I went to ſee for Mr. *Goodenough* and found him at the *Dolphin* Tavern in *Bartholemew-lane* and I appointed him to come to the *Kings-head* in *Swithens-alley* in *Cornhil*; where he came and told me, that they were making ready and asked me what I had done in that matter? I told him not much, becauſe I doubted they were not prepared with Money and Arms, he told me that they had both. I asked him what ſtore of Money they had? he told me, Twenty thouſand pounds, and then we went into company, and talked no more about that affair. Some days after I met with him again, and he told me, that he had ſeen Mr. *Bateman*, and that he hoped he would be very ſerviceable, and asked me what that *Southwark* man was? I told him he was very honeſt and wiling, and that I had ſpoken with him, and he deſired that he might ſpeak with him. I called him, and they diſcourſed together alone, and after that he asked me, who that ancient Gentleman was, I told him, that he was an old Souldier and that his Name was *Franks*; he deſired me to call him, and I did, and diſcourſed the matter, and he not hearing of it before, was a little ſurprized; but ſaid, that he was willing to fight for Priviledge, which he thought was Invaded, but not for Religion. The next day I went to meet Mr. *Goodenough* at *Richards* Coffee-houſe at *Temple-bar*; there I met with Mr. *Hone*, and he had me over to the *Kings-head Tavern*, and there told me, it had been our great miſchief, that there had not been an underſtanding betwixt the Cavaliers and us; that there were a great many brave men about the *Temple*, and that the job had been done upon the Black-Bird and Gold-Finch ſome time before, if it had

not been for an accident that happened at *Newmarket*. Soon after came in Mr. *Francis Goodenough*, and Mr. *Hone* told me that I might be free with him. We diſcourſed about the matter, he ſaid they were making all things in a readineſs againſt their coming from *Windſor*, and that he thought they muſt get Three hundred Horſe to ſeize them coming from *Windſor*. Some time after I met with Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, and aſked him what readineſs things were in, he told me that in a few days he thought he ſhould have an account how many men they could raiſe. I told him that I had ſpoken with Mr. *Rous*, and that he could help them to Arms for a Hundred men; and that a way was propoſed how to raiſe a Thouſand Seamen, if they would be at the charge of a Golden Ball to be played upon *Black heath*. He asked me what the Ball would coſt? I told him, I was informed about Twelve pounds. He ſaid, if it were Forty, they would be at the charge of it. Then he deſired to ſpeak with Mr. *Rous*, and appointed to meet him at the *Kings-head* Tavern in *Swithings-alley*, and they met and went into a room apart, and afterwards we went to *Joſephs* Coffee-houſe in *Exchange-alley*, and Mr. *Rous* told me, that he would ſee and get Ten Sea-Captains to manage that affair. The next day I met with Mr. *Rous* at the *Amſterdam* Coffee-houſe, there he ſpoke with two Captains, as he told me, and from thence he went with them to the *Angel* and *Crown* Tavern in *Threadneedle-ſtreet*, but I did not go with them. I ſaw him afterwards at the *Kings-head*, and he told me, he muſt have Mr. *Goodenough* go with him to *Wapping*, I acquainted Mr. *Goodenough* with it, and he told me, that that buſineſs of the *Tower* was left to ſome men, that underſtood thoſe affairs better than himſelf, and that they muſt be in a readineſs to do all together; I asked him what that was, he told me they muſt Seize the *Tower*, and take the City, and ſecure the *Savoy* and *Whitehall*, and the King and the Duke. Sometime after I met Mr. *Francis Goodenough* in *Weſtminſter hall*, he had me behind *Kidals* Coffee-houſe, and told me, that the Countrey-Gentry were ready, and ſaid, he deſired it might not be delayed long. The next time I ſaw Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, was at the *Kings-head*. I called at Mr. *Jenkes*, and underſtood that he had almoſt dined, and I left word that I was gone thither, and he came to me, and I told him I had ſpoke with one in *Old-ſtreet*, and that he was willing to aſſiſt with Money, and another in *White-croſs-ſtreet*, that told me, that he would aſſiſt himſelf, and had Arms for Ten men, and Mr. *Goodenough* told me, that they were about Summing up their Men, and that they ſhould be ready in a fortnight or leſs.

The Examination of Hicks *living in* Friday-*ſtreet* London, *taken before His Majeſty the third of* July 1683.

WHo ſaith, that he did hear from *Wade* (as he thinketh) that the City was to be divided into parts, and that *Wade* told him, there would be a Riſing of the Papiſts to cut all their Throats, to which he had anſwered, that he did not believe it; But that the Law of Nature taught him to ſtand upon his own defence. And that he the Examinant further adding, that this imported Evil and that he would not conſent to it. *Wade* then replied, he the Examinant muſt periſh then by himſelf.

The

The Examination of Robert West *of the Middle-Temple Barriſter at Law, taken the* 23 June 1683.

THis Examinant ſaith, he having a general acquaintance with thoſe of the City of *London*, that are commonly called *Whiggs*; obſerved about *Michaelmas* laſt a general diſcontent amongſt them, by reaſon (as he apprehends) of the Elections that had gone before of the Mayor and Sheriffs, and of their apprehenſions of the loſs of their Charter: whereon this Examinant fearing that their hearts might tranſport them to commit ſome extravagancies, and to prevent his own Families being ruined by them, was very inquiſitive to know whether any Inſurrection might be deſigned. And this Examinant after ſome time, was inform'd by ſome perſons, who at preſent he cannot remember, that an Inſurrection was intended in *November* laſt in the City of *London*, but the particulars of it this Examinant was never acquainted with; and he heard ſoon after that the Deſign was wholly laid aſide. And this Examinant further ſaith, That about the time His Majeſty came from *Newmarket*, in or about *October* laſt, he heard that there was a Deſign to ſeize the King & the Duke of *York*; but this Examinant does not know the place where, nor the perſons who were to act therein. And this Examinant further ſaith, that about the latter end of *October*, or the beginning of *November* laſt, this Examinant met with Mr. *Robert Ferguſon*, whom he had been long acquainted with, and the ſaid Mr. *Ferguſon* gave this Examinant an account of the great miſeries the people of *Scotland* lay under, and did believe the people of *England* would ſuffer the like, and Popery over run the Nation, unleſs the people themſelves endeavoured to prevent it. And told this Examinant, that two ways had been thought on (but named not by whom) one by a general Inſurrection in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, and the other a more Compendious and ſafe way of taking away the King and Duke by ſome ſurprize in ſome Journey. To which this Examinant anſwered to this effect, to wit, That he looked upon the firſt method to be impracticable and full of hazard, the Militia, Navy, Forts, and Ammunition being in the hands of the Government, and the people as it were naked; and ſuch an attempt might intail a long and Bloody War upon the Nation, and muſt end in the deſtruction of the King and Duke, or elſe it would be vain. And therefore the ſecond method of taking them off by ſurprize was moſt rational, if there were a neceſſity of doing the one thing or the other. And this Examinant further ſaith, that after this diſcourſe, the ſaid Mr. *Ferguſon* went into *Holland*, and after his return from thence, had ſeveral Diſcourſes with this Examinant to the ſame effect, concerning the deſtroying the King and the Duke; and that there would be an opportunity ſhortly of doing it, either upon the King and Dukes going to, or coming from *Newmarket*.

This Examinant further ſaith, That ſoon after the ſaid Mr. *Ferguſon*,

Mr.

Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, Mr. *Richard Rumball*, this Examinant, and ſometime Colonel *Rumzey* (ſo called) and Capt. *Walcot* met, ſometimes at this Examinants Chamber, and ſometimes at other places where they uſed to debate and conſider of the method of putting the Deſign of Killing the King and the Duke in Execution.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That none of the perſons above mentioned, ſave *Richard Rumball* only, was to act in perſon, in the ſaid attempt, but the ſaid *Robert Ferguſon*, *Richard Rumball*, and *Richard Goodenough* undertook to provide the perſons to make the ſaid attempt, which perſons were to be 40 at leaſt, and 50 if they could procure them.

This Examinant further ſaith, That there was alſo a further debate what ſort of Arms ſhould be made uſe of in the Attempt: And it was agreed there ſhould be Blunderbuſſes, Muskets or Carbines, and Piſtols; but how the ſaid Arms ſhould be carried down, whether before-hand, or by the perſons on Horſeback, this Examinant does not remember they came to any reſolution.

This Examinant further ſaith, that it was reſolved ſome of the perſons who were to make the Attempt ſhould kill one or more of the Horſes in the Kings Coach, and then one party ſhould ſet upon the Coach and ſhoot into it, and another party fight the Guards; and if there ſhould be occaſion, a Cart ſhould be overturned in the Road on purpoſe to ſtop the Coach.

And this Examinant further ſaith, that after the ſaid Reſolution above-taken, this Examinant was much troubled in his mind, and endeavoured to repreſent ſeveral difficulties and hazards in the thing, and the ill conſequences thereof whether it ſucceeded or not, with an intention to have diverted the thing.

And this Examinant further ſaith, that after the Fire at *Newmarket*, and before the Kings return from thence ſooner than was expected, this Examinant and the other perſons above-mentioned met at this Examinants Chamber, where becauſe they had no certain intelligence how long the King would ſtay there before his return to *London*, it was agreed, to the beſt of this Examinants remembrance, that the Attempt ſhould be wholly laid aſide.

And this Examinant further ſaith, that ſome ſhort time after the Kings return from *Newmarket*, there being a Diſcourſe at a Tavern in the City between this Examinant and the ſaid *Rumball*, and one *John Keeling*, concerning the diſappointment of their ſaid attempt, in not having the Arms ready; and the ſaid *Keeling* openly mentioning Blunderbuſſes, Muskets, and Piſtols, this Examinant adviſed him to call the ſaid Arms by the names of Swan-Quills, Gooſe-Quills, and Crow-Quills, that the Drawers might not take notice.

And this Examinant further ſaith, that at the ſame Tavern, the ſaid *Richard Rumball* told this Examinant, and the ſaid *Keeling*, that the King came by his Houſe with a ſlender Guard of Six Horſe, much tyred and that ſix men well provided might have made the attempt and ſucceeded in it.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That ſome ſhort time after, it was agreed by this Examinant, the ſaid *Ferguſon*, *Rumball* and *Goodenough*, that ſome Arms ſhould be bought to be in a readineſs for any occaſion: And becauſe this Examinant was no otherwiſe capable to ſerve in any ſuch Deſign, it was propoſed to him and he undertook to

buy

buy ſome Arms; and accordingly this Examinant beſpake of one *Daft* a Gunſmith in *Sheer-lane*, 30 Caſe of Piſtols, 30 Carbines with Belts and Swivels, and 10 Blunderbuſſes, beſides Bullets and Flints, on pretence of ſending the ſame into *America*, but the ſame were not entred at the Cuſtome-houſe till Tueſday laſt, although this Examinant did deſign to have done ſo ſix weeks before.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That being at a Tavern about three weeks or a month ſince with *Nathaniel Wade*, *Richard Nelthrop* and others, where the ſaid Mr. *Nelthrop* was reading a Gazette, wherein there were Relations of Tumults at *Cologne*, abetted by one *Gulick*, the ſaid *Keeling* came into the Room to ſpeak with one of the Company; and Mr. *Nelthrop* in a jeaſting manner called the ſaid *Keeling Gulick*; whereupon the ſaid *Keeling* ſaid to this Examinant, *What think you for all your jeaſting, if I and ſome few more of my Friends ſhould ſave the City Charter and the Nation?* or words to this effect. To whom this Examinant replyed, he would do very well to do ſo: but then asked him the manner how he would do it? To which he anſwered, That no body ſhould know it till they had done; but hoped he ſhould not be hanged for't: Upon which words this Examinant ſuſpecting the ſaid *Keeling* meant ſome extravagant thing, bid him take care not to do any fooliſh thing and ruine the Proteſtants.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That about *Eaſter* laſt ſome Diſcourſes were had concerning the making ſome Attempt upon the King and Duke, between *Windſor* and *Hampton-Court*, but no reſolution therein was ever taken to this Examinants knowledge or remembrance.

This Examinant further ſaith, That there was ſome Conſiderations lately had how to make an Eſtimate of the ſtrength of the Proteſtant party, in caſe they ſhould be put upon their own Defence; when it was agreed that the City and Subburbs ſhould be divided into twenty parts, & that ſome perſon well acquainted in each Diviſion, ſhould enquire into and make a return of the number he ſhould find; which returns are not yet made to the Examinants knowledge: And more this Examinant for the preſent ſaith not.

Robert Weſt.

23 *Die* Junii 1683.
Capt. & Recognit coram me

L. JENKINS.

The further Examination of Robert Weſt *Barriſter at Law of the* Middle-Temple, *the* 24*th of* June 1683.

THis Examinant ſaith, That he was informed of the Inſurrection in his former Examination mentioned to have been deſigned in *November* laſt by *Thomas Walcot*, who told this Examinant that the ſame was projected by the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and was to have been put in execution the 19 of *November* laſt, but that he looked upon it as a mad thing, which he had no thoughts to engage in; and afterwards told this Examinant that it was wholly laid aſide.

And this Examination further ſaith, That to the beſt of his remembrance *Francis Shute* lately deceaſed was the perſon who acquainted this Examinant that an Aſſaſſination of the King and Duke in their return from *Newmarket* in or about *October* laſt had been intended, and that he heard the ſame from Mr. *Ferguſon*; and this Examinant asking Mr. *Ferguſon* about it, the ſaid *Ferguſon* told this Examinant, that it had not been thought of time enough, and therefore could not be done or words to that effect.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That he diſcourſing with the ſaid *Ferguſon* concerning the late intended Attempt upon the King and Duke in their return from *Newmarket*, asked the ſaid *Ferguſon* what care was taken to juſtifie the ſame, if in caſe it took effect, for that the other party might in revenge ſhed a great deal of Blood, and immediately proclaim the Princeſs of *Orange*, which would overthrow the whole Deſign. To which he anſwered me that care would be taken about it and that the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and moſt of the Lieutenancy ſhould be ſecured. But when this Examinant deſired to know what perſons were to be concerned, he bad this Examinant ask no queſtions, for things would be managed well, as he ſaid; and that if *London* was ſecured, all *England* would fall in.

And this Examinant further ſaith, that when this Examinant asked the ſaid *Ferguſon* whether any Declaration was prepared to be publiſhed upon ſuch occaſion? he told this Examinant that it had been conſidered of and was ready, and would be printed ready to be diſperſed: but when this Examinant asked him how it ſhould be done, he anſwered it was aſſuredly ſo, but this Examinant muſt ask no queſtions.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That before this Examinant beſpake the Arms mentioned in his former Examinations, the ſaid *Ferguſon* told this Examinant that he would give this Examinant mony to pay for them, for he had five or ſix hundred pounds at Command, but he paid not the money to this Examinant till about three weeks or a month ſince and then paid it this Examinant in ninety three Guineys, but would not tell this Examinant of whom he had the ſaid money. And this Examinant further ſaith, That the ſaid *Ferguſon* told this Examinant that the *Scots* intended to make ſome Inſurrection in *Scotland* this Summer, but were not well able to do ſo without the aſſiſtance of ten thouſand pounds or ſome other great ſum to buy Arms for them, which he had hopes of getting for them and that they expected, and he hoped they would be ſeconded by a party in *England* both in *London* and in the Northern and Weſtern parts. And when this Examinant asked him what perſons of Note would engage in it and what method they would uſe; He anſwered, *Firſt let us ſound our ſtrength and if there be encouragement from that, you will not want men of Quality to take their Poſt, but you muſt excuſe me from naming of them till there be occaſion.* And this Examinant further ſaith, that though he frequently enquired whether any money had been paid to the *Scots*, he could not certainly be informed that any money had been paid.

And further ſaith this Examinant, that the Arms in his former Examinations particularly mentioned were directed by the Company then preſent to be beſpoken.

And

And further this Examinant saith, That he hath been often in company with Mr. *Edward Norton* of *Dorsetshire*, as this Examinant doth believe, with *Nathaniel Wade* a Barrister at Law and *Francis Goodenough* an Attorney at Law, at the Castle-Tavern in *Fleetstreet*, and at the Green Dragon Tavern upon *Snow-hill*; where some Discourses were held concerning an Insurrection in *Scotland* and of one in *England*, if there should be occasion or be thought requisite; at which time the said Parties last mentioned, declared they would not be wanting to act their parts therein. And this Examinant further saith not.

Robert West.

24 Junii *Cap. & recognit.*
coram me

L. JENKINS.

The further Examination of Robert West, *taken by my Lord Keeper the* 25*th* June, 1683.

THis Examinant further saith, That *Robert Ferguson* in his two former Examinations named, told and sent this Examinant word by a Note, That if this Examinant would send to Major *John Wildman* (commonly so called) he would pay a hundred pounds for the Arms in this Examinants farther Examinations mentioned to be bought by this Examinant; and this Examinant not being willing to speak with the said *Wildman* himself, sent *Richard Rumbald* to receive the money; but the said *Wildman* was gone out of Town before the said *Rumbald* did call at his house. And this Examinant further saith, That upon some discourse at one of the Meetings in his former Examinations mentioned, it was proposed, whether some of the chief Ministers of State, particularly the Lord Keeper, the Lord Marques of *Hallifax*, and the Earl of *Rochester* that now is, should be killed and it was agreed that it was very necessary they should be killed; but no particular persons were appointed to do it, as this Examinant remembers, it being thought almost impossible for any of the said Ministers to escape. And further, this Examinant saith not.

Robert West.

25 Junii 1683.
Cap. & recognit. coram me

Fr. North, *C. S.*

The

The further Examination of Robert West *of the* Middle-Temple, *Barriſter at Law, taken before Mr. Secretary* Jenkins *the* 26th *of* June 1683.

THis Examinant further ſaith, That ſome time in the laſt Spring, and to the beſt of this Examinants remembrance, whilſt the King was at *Newmarket*, *Francis Shute*, late deceas'd, came to this Examinant with a Meſſage from the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, as he told this Examinant, to this effect, *viz.* That the Lord *Howard* had a Project for raiſing a Body of Men to make an Inſurrection and deſired this Examinants concurrence and aſſiſtance in it; and ſhortly after, the Lord *Howard* and Mr. *Shute* came to this Examinants Chamber in the *Temple*, where the Lord *Howard* told this Examinant, That except ſome effort were made by the People towards ſaving their Liberties and Religion, all would be loſt; or uſed words to that effect. And this Examinant telling his Lordſhip that he ſaw no way of doing ſo, that did not endanger the People more in caſe of a miſcarriage, his Lordſhip told this Deponent, he had thought of a method feaſible in his opinion, and it was this, to the beſt of this Examinants remembrance, *viz.* That Ten men of Skill and Conduct in Martial Affairs ſhould meet and each chuſe to himſelf ten men whom he might uſe, that every of theſe ten ſhould raiſe 20 men, ſo as to make up a Body of two thouſand men: that empty Houſes ſhould be taken for theſe men, as near the ſeveral Gates of the City and other convenient Poſts as could be: that the night before the Execution intended, the Men ſhould be got into thoſe Houſes, and acquainted with the execution; ſuch as refuſed ſhould be clapt into the Cellars, and the reſt ſally out at the moſt convenient hour, and ſeize and ſhut up the Gates, and then demand the Inhabitants Arms: and he doubted not but they would deliver them and People enough come into aſſiſtance. His Lordſhip named Col. *Rumzey*, Col. *Danvers*, Mr. *Clare* and three others whom this Examinant hath forgotten, for ſix of the principal Ten, and deſired this Examinant to ſpeak to them to conſider of the Project and fill up the number of Ten; but this Examinant having no mind to engage in it, onely told Col. *Romzey* of it and none other of the Parties above-named, who told this Examinant he would not meddle in it, and adviſed this Examinant to proceed no further; and when the ſaid Lord *Howard* came to this Examinant for an anſwer, this Examinant told his Lordſhip, that he could meet with no encouragement; whereupon his Lordſhip replied he could make as good a ſhift as other men, and he would trouble himſelf no further and came not ſince to this Examinant.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That the Lord *Howard* at another time told this Examinant at a Tavern in the City, That he thought it no difficulty with 500 Horſe to ſurprize the King, Duke and all the Court at *Newmarket*, by beating up their Quarters about break of day; but this Examinant told the ſaid Lord *Howard* it was impoſſible to get ſuch a Body to ſo great a diſtance unobſerved, at which his Lordſhip ſeem'd convinc'd.

And

And this Deponent further ſaith, That the ſaid *Ferguſon* told this Examinant, That the Arms to be bought with the ſaid 10000 *l.* lay ready provided in *Holland* to be Tranſported for *Scotland*, and that the Earl of *Argile* would go over with them and Head the *Scots* in Perſon; and that one Engliſh Lord offered to pay the whole 10000 *l.* by Mortgaging his Eſtate, if the reſt of the Managers would have ſecured him their proportions. But he ſhould not name the Lord's Name then but ſince the ſaid *Ferguſon* told this Examinant it was the Lord *Grey*. And further this Examinant ſaith not.

26 *Junii* 83. *Capt.* & *Cognit. Coram me* — *Robert Weſt.*

L. Jenkins.

The further Examination of Robert Weſt *of the* Middle-Temple *Barriſter at Law.*

THis Examinant ſaith, That he was informed by Mr. *Ferguſon*, and to the beſt of his remembrance by Colonel *Romzey* likewiſe, That the late Earl of *Shaftsbury* adviſed the Duke of *Monmouth* when he went into *Cheſhire* in *September* laſt, That if his Grace were attended with a good appearance of Gentlemen and Free-holders there, his Grace ſhould ſet up and declare for a Free Parliament. And that when his Grace was taken into Cuſtody by a Meſſenger, the ſaid Earl of *Shaftsbury* adviſed that the ſaid Meſſenger ſhould be killed and his Grace return into *Cheſhire* and declare as above or elſe Poſt into the Weſt of *England* and ſet up there. But his Grace and the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* were of another opinion, *viz.* That his Grace ſhould Surrender himſelf which his Grace did accordingly.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That ſince the Inſurrection intended in *November* laſt was laid aſide, this Examinant was informed by Colonel *Romzey*, that one great reaſon of its being laid aſide, was, that one Mr. *John Trenchard*, on whom there was a great Reliance for a conſiderable body of Men in the Weſt, *viz.* at *Taunton*, would not undertake to procure ſuch a Body, for which he was much reproached by the Lord *Grey*.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That ſome time before Mr. *Ferguſon* went over into *Holland*, the ſaid *Ferguſon*, this Examinant and one Mr. *John Roe* late Sword-Bearer of *Briſtol* were together at the Young Devil Tavern in *Fleet-ſtreet*, where ſome Diſcourſe was had concerning the killing the King and Duke of *York* and of a general Inſurrection; but this Examinant cannot remember any particular paſſages of that Diſcourſe.

hearing *

And this Examinant further ſaith, That after the ſaid *Ferguſon* went for *Holland*, *viz.* about *Chriſtmaſs* laſt, Colonel *Romzey*, this Examinant, *Richard Goodenough* and the ſaid *Roe*, ſeveral times met and diſcourſed concerning the ſaid Deſign againſt the King and Duke; as alſo of a general Inſurrection, which they diſtinguiſhed by the names of the *Lopping Point*, and *General Point:* One of which Meetings, to the beſt of this Examinants remembrance, was at this Examinants Chamber in the *Temple*, where were preſent beſides Colonel *Romzey*, this Examinant, the ſaid *Goodenough* and *Roe*, Mr. *Joſeph Tyley*, Mr. *Edward Norton*, and Mr. *Richard Nelthrop*. And the ſaid Mr. *Nelthrop* approved of an Inſurrection, but always expreſſed a Deteſtation of the Deſign to kill the King and Duke, as a baſe ungenerous thing: But the ſaid *Roe* declared, he would be one to execute it rather than it ſhould fail to be done.

And this Examinant ſaith, That at ſome or all of thoſe Meetings it was diſcourſed in what place, and in what manner the ſaid Deſign againſt the King and Duke ſhould be put in execution; and it was propoſed to be done either in the Play-houſe, by planting Men in the Pit about the King's Box, armed with Piſtols and Pocket-Blunderbuſſes, who between the Acts of the Play ſhould make the Aſſault, or in their return from the Play-houſe by night under *Bedford* Garden Wall; becauſe of the convenience for one part of the Aſſailants walking unſuſpected in the *Piaza* and another walking ſo in the Square within the Rails, and another being about the Church-Porch, who upon the firſt Aſſault might prevent Aſſiſtance to the King out of *Covent-Garden:* Or elſe it might be done as the King and Duke were paſſing down the River in a Barge, either by over-running their Barge with a Hoy, or elſe Boarding their Barge, and ſhooting a Plank or two out of the bottom with Blunderbuſſes, and ſo to ſink it; but both theſe ways were looked upon as very hazardous and probable to miſcarry, and therefore neither was agreed on.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That in the laſt *Chriſtmaſs* Holy-days, Colonel *Romzey* invited this Examinant, and ſeveral others to Dinner at his Houſe in *Kings-Square* in *Soho Fields*, where Dined this Examinant, Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, Mr. *Francis Goodenough*, Mr. *Roe*, Mr. *Blaney*, and to the beſt of this Examinants remembrance, Mr. *Joſeph Tyley*, and ſome Diſcourſe was then had of the ſaid Deſign againſt the King and Duke, and of a general Inſurrection, which this Examinant propoſed to them being Lawyers to call and diſtinguiſh them in this manner; The Deſign of Killing the King and the Duke, *Executing a Bargain and Sale*, which was a ſhort manner of Conveyance: And the general Inſurrection, *By the executing a Leaſe and Releaſe* which is a longer Conveyance, which Diſtinction was received, and often afterwards made uſe of; but the ſame *Blaney* was never afterward, as this Examinant remembers, at any other Meeting.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That ſome ſhort time after *Chriſtmas* laſt, this Examinant, Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Walcot*, and Mr. *Rumbold* met at the Salutation Tavern in *Lumbard-ſtreet*, where it was Diſcourſed, that ſome Preparations ought to be made againſt the time, that either the ſaid Deſign againſt the King and Duke, or a general Inſurrection ſhould be put in Execution: And it was agreed,

greed, That *Ferguſon* ſhould be ſent for Home, and that *Ludlow* ſhould be ſent for if it could be, and that Blank Commiſſions ſhould be drawn up for Officers both Civil and Military and a Model of Government; but there was ſome doubt in whoſe Names thoſe Commiſſions ſhould run, and at laſt it was propoſed (but this Examinant does not remember by whom) that they ſhould run in the Name of the Confederate Lords and Commons of *England*. After which Meeting, this Examinant and Colonel *Romzey* went the ſame night, to the beſt of this Examinants remembrance or ſoon after to a Coffee-Houſe in *Popes-head Alley*, to enquire for one Mr. *Thomas Shepard* a Merchant, for Directions how to ſend to Mr. *Ferguſon* then in *Holland*, and there found Mr. *Shepard*. And this Examinant, by the conſent of the ſaid Colonel *Romzey*, wrote a ſort of Canting Letter to *Ferguſon*, to invite him over for his Health, but there was no particular buſineſs in the ſaid Letter; and the ſaid Mr. *Shepard* ſent it: But Mr. *Ludlow* was never ſent for, nor any Commiſſions prepared, nor any Frame of Government drawn up to this Examinants knowledge, or as he ever heard of.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That about *Chriſtmaſs* laſt he was informed, to the beſt of this Examinants remembrance, by Colonel *Romzey*, that a deſign for a general Inſurrection was carrying on, and was managed by a Cabal or Council, and that the ſaid Cabal differed amongſt themſelves, and the buſineſs was like to be at a ſtand; but the perſons of that Cabal, the ſaid Colonel *Romzey*, did not then give this Examinant any account of: But the ſaid Colonel *Romzey*, this Examinant and *Nathaniel Wade* agreed to draw up ſome few Fundamentals, which they thought reaſonable, and the ſaid Colonel *Rumſey* to preſent the ſame to the Lord *Ruſſel*, for him to preſent to the Managers or the Duke of *Monmouth*, which they did accordingly, but the ſame were rejected, as the ſaid Colonel *Romzey* told this Examinant, and this Examinant hath no Copy of them.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That about *Hillary Term* laſt, this Examinant was informed by Mr. *Joſeph Tyley*, and ſince by *James Holloway* of *Briſtol*, that there was a conſiderable Party in *Briſtol*, well provided for, and almoſt impatient for Action, and had laid a rational Deſign, if they could be ſeconded in other places.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That he was informed by Mr. *Richard Nelthrop*, that Colonel *Sidney* had ſent *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland* with Letters to Sir *George Cambel*, and Sir *John Cochran*, or one of them, upon pretence of a Purchaſe of Land in *Carolina*, but in truth, to get them up to *London*, in order to ſettle matters for a Riſing, or uſed words to that effect: and that the ſaid Colonel *Sidney* gave the ſaid *Aaron Smith* Fourſcore Guineys, or ſome ſuch Sum for his Charges: And Mr. *Ferguſon* hath ſince told this Examinant, that the ſaid *Aaron Smith* behaved himſelf very indiſcreetly in the ſaid Journey, and run a hazard of diſcovering the Deſign.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That Mr. *Ferguſon* often told this Examinant, that it was agreed between ſeveral *Scots* and ſeveral Perſons of Quality here in *England*, that the *Scots* ſhould have 10000 *l.* from hence to buy Arms, and then ſhould Riſe in *Scotland*, and be ſeconded here by an Inſurrection in *England*; or if the *Engliſh* would help the *Scots* to 30000 *l.* they would attempt a

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Rising in *Scotland*, without being seconded in, or further assisted from *England*. And that the 10000 *l.* was to be paid this day and that day, but at length the 10000 *l.* sunk to 5000 *l.* but the *Scots* were resolved to Rise though they had nothing but their Claws to fight with, rather then endure what they did. And about three Weeks or a Month since, the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that Colonel *Sidney* and Major *Wildman* had used the *Scots* ill and broken with them after making them attend two Months; and the reason they broke upon was, That the *Scots* would not agree to declare for a Commonwealth and the extirpation of the Monarchy, but that the said *Ferguson* had hopes of raising the Money otherwise, but would not tell this Examinant how; neither could this Examinant ever be certainly informed whether any part of the said Money has been paid to the *Scots*. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *John Roe* hath told this Examinant, that he the said *Roe* was acquainted with some Scotchmen here in *London*, who informed him that there were 2000 or 3000 *Scots* (many of them *Bothwel-Bridge* Men) who were Journey-men and Pedlers in and about *England*, and were under the order and management of ten or twelve Scotchmen in *London*, who could in a Month or six weeks time draw in all up to *London*; and that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had a great command of these men.

And this Examinant further saith, That about three Months since or thereabouts, this Examinant being upon the *Exchange*, met with Major *Wildman*, who told this Examinant for News that the Marques of *Huntly* and Earl of *Dowglas*, two eminent Papists, were reported to be made General of the Forces, and Governour of *Sterling* Castle in *Scotland* and that a Resumption or Repurchase of the Abby Lands was going to be made there. Whereupon this Examinant told the said Major *Wildman*, That he this Examinant had a Plantation in *America* where the Churchmen never had Footing, and would go thither if he was driven from hence. To which the said Major *Wildman* replied, Keep here, and don't talk of being driven out, drive them out hence. And this Examinant saying, He did not see how that could be done: The said Major *Wildman* returned, it may be done, and must be done, and shall be done; or used words to that effect.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Rumbald* told this Examinant not long since, that Major *Wildman* had shewed him a Paper in the nature of a Declaration or Remonstrance, which he intended to have Printed and Dispersed among the People at the time of the intended Insurrection; and that he the said *Wildman* had formerly encouraged the said *Rumbald* in the attempt upon the King and Duke in their way to or from *Newmarket*, but afterward seemed to discourage him.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Fire happened at *Newmarket*, and this Examinant, Colonel *Romzey*, *Walcot*, *Ferguson*, *Rumbald*, and *Richard Goodenough* had met twice, and resolved to let making any Attempt upon the King and Duke alone. The said *Ferguson* on Saturday or Sunday before the Kings return, borrowed Forty Gunies of Colonel *Romzey*, as the said Colonel *Romzey* and *Ferguson* have since told this Examinant, in order to set the same on work, but did nothing in it; and hath since repaid Thirty Gunies, if not the whole Forty Gunies to the said Colonel *Romzey*.

And

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Kings return from *Newmarket*, the said Colonel *Romzey*, this Examinant, *Ferguson*, *Rumbald*, *Goodenough*, and *Walcot*, as this Examinant believes, met at the *George* and *Vulture* Tavern on *Ludgate-hill*, where the Arms in this Examinants former Examinations mentioned and the Sorts and Sizes thereof were agreed upon: And the said *Ferguson* told the Company that one was employed to see for some Convenience between *Hampton-Court* and *Windsor*, to make the Attempt upon the King and Duke, but he never made any Report of the Message, though he was pressed to it by this Examinant and others, being then wholly intent, as this Examinant perceived, upon Managing the Scotch Insurrection.

And this Examinant further saith, That soon afterward there were several Meetings between all or most of the Parties abovementioned, at the *Castle* Tavern in *Fleetstreet*, and *Green Dragon* Tavern on *Snow-hill*: but this Examinant doth not remember any particular Discourse at any of the said Meetings, other than concerning the Progress of the Scotch preparation towards an Insurrection.

And this Examinant further saith, That there was since proposed making an Attempt upon the King and Duke in their return from the Dukes Play-House in the narrow part of the Street, but the same was wholly rejected and this Examinant never heard of any Attempt designed to be made upon the King and Duke at a Bull-Feast, nor never heard that a Bull-Feast was to be had till about Ten or Eleven days since.

And this Examinant further saith, That the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that the Insurrection in *England* intended to second that in *Scotland* would be in this manner, *viz.* That one Party should be up in the West at *Bristol*, *Taunton*, and thereabout, another in *Yorkshire* at *York*, another in *Cheshire* at *Chester*, and if it could be done, another in *Devonshire* at *Exeter*; in every of which places some Persons of Quality would appear, but named them not, and that the main Push was designed at *London*, and was ordered thus, *viz.* That several parties should at once Attack the *Tower*, the Guards and the *Exchange*, the *Mews*, the *Savoy*, and *White-Hall*; and one at *Westminster* should fall upon the back of *White-Hall*, that a Party of Horse should be laid at *Staines* Bridge to way-lay the King and Duke, if they went towards *Windsor*, and another Party of Horse to way-lay them in their Road to *Portsmouth* if they went thither; that the Mayor and Sheriffs should be seized but the Design was not to be Communicated till it was ripe for Action; and added, that he hoped the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Russel* might be prevailed with to appear in *London*.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the *Scots* were disappointed of the Money promised to them the said *Ferguson* would have had this Examinant to have met and discoursed with Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, but this Examinant refused to do so; and he once asked this Examinant to wait upon the Duke of *Monmouth* but this Examinant refused that also.

And this Examinant further saith, That though the said *Ferguson* was shie of Naming Persons of Quality to this Examinant yet he always believed he meant the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Russel*, Lord *Grey*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Charleton*, Major *Wildman* and others, but

this Examinant never Diſcourſed with any of them himſelf. And Colonel *Romzey* about two or three Months ſince to the beſt of this Examinants remembrance told this Examinant that the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hampden* Junior, Major *Wildman* and others whom this Examinant hath forgotten were Managers of the Deſign.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That *Richard Rumbald* was commonly called *Hanibal* by reaſon of his having but one eye, and that it was uſual at the Meetings above-mentioned to Drink a Health to *Hanibal* and his Boys and this Examinant believes the Ninety-three Guineys in this Examinants former Examination mentioned to be paid to him by the ſaid *Ferguſon* for the Arms were given to him by Mr. *Charleton*, for that the ſaid *Ferguſon* had before told this Examinant, that he ſhould have the ſaid Money when Mr. *Charleton* came to Town, and when the ſaid *Ferguſon* paid the ſaid Guinies to this Examinant he told him he had not them in his Cuſtody above half an hour, and this Examinant met the ſaid *Charleton* going from him when this Examinant came to him.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That about five Weeks ſince after the ſaid Treaty with the *Scots* ſeemed to be broken off, this Examinant, Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Walcot*, Mr. *Wade*, Mr. *Norton*, *Richard Goodenough*, and *James Holloway*, met at the Young Devil Tavern between the two *Temple Gates*, where it was agreed to divide the City into ſeveral Parts and to give the ſeveral Parts to ſeveral Perſons to examine what Force might be Raiſed in every one of them, and if 3000 Men could be Raiſed for the firſt Onſet it was thought ſufficient encouragement to venture upon an Inſurrection, and it was not doubted but 20000 Men would fall in if the firſt Onſet had any ſucceſs; and in order to this a large Map of the City and Suburbs was bought and hung up in this Examinants Chamber, where Mr. *Wade*, *Holloway*, and Mr. *Francis Goodenough*, divided the City and Suburbs into Twenty Diviſions, which were to be Managed thus: One principal Man in each Diviſion ſhould employ Fourteen or Fifteen under him and give them their particular Walks, ſo that they might not interfere one with another and be deceived in their Numbers. Theſe were to provide Ten men apiece at leaſt, ſo that 150 Men in each Diviſion would make 3000 out of the Twenty Diviſions and what was over might be kept for a Reſerve, but there was no particular Method as this Examinant remembers agreed upon to uſe theſe Men, but was deferred till the Number was certain, after which Diviſion ſo made the ſaid *Richard Goodenough* by reaſon of his general Acquaintance undertook to find out Men to act accordingly, and ſome ſhort time after the ſaid Parties above-mentioned met at the *Green Dragon* Tavern, where the ſaid *Goodenough* declared he had employed ſeveral Perſons from whom he hoped to have a good account in a little time, and the next Week after the ſaid Parties above-mentioned and one Mr. *Zachary Bourn* a Brewer whom the ſaid *Goodenough* had employed in it, met at the Salutation Tavern in *Lumbardſtreet*, but this Examinant came not thither till the company juſt broke up, and did not hear what paſſed there: And about a Week after the ſame Parties except *Holloway* (who was gone to *Briſtol*) met again at the *Green Dragon* Tavern on *Snow-hill*, where the ſaid *Goodenough* reported that he had an account

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of 1300 Men out of Two of the Hamlets, and that *Southwark* would yield more and *Spittle-Fields* a great Number but had no particular account of other places.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That about Three Weeks ſince *Richard Rumbald* told this Examinant that he ſuſpected Mr. *Keeling* had diſcovered all the Deſigns, as well that of the intended Aſſaſſination from *Newmarket* as the other Deſign then on foot and that if he were ſure of it he would take care to get him knock'd on the Head, but was unwilling to do ſo till he were fully ſatisfied and about a fortnight ſince the ſaid *Rumbold* told this Examinant that he had ſeveral Reaſons to convince him that the ſaid *Keeling* had made a Diſcovery, and but that he made ſo many Proteſtations and Imprecations to the contrary he would kill him. And this Examinant hath heard from Mr. *William Rumbald*, that he lent the ſaid *Keeling* an Hundred pounds on Saturday was Sevenight laſt, leaſt the ſaid *Keeling* ſhould be tempted by want of Money, which he then pretended to labour under. And on Monday was Sevenight laſt this Examinant was informed by the ſaid Mr. *William Rumbald* that the ſaid *Keeling* was with Perſons that Afternoon, ſome of whom he believed would have killed the ſaid *Keeling* if he had not deceived them by many imprecations that he had made no Diſcovery. And this Examinant further ſaith, that this Examinant, Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Wade*, Mr. *Nelthrop*, *Goodenough* and *Norton* had notice on Sunday was Sevenight laſt, by means of the ſaid *Keeling*'s Brother that the ſaid *Keeling* had made a Diſcovery, and thereupon they reſolved to meet early the next morning in order to their Eſcapes and according to their appointment met in *Goodmans-Fields*, where they endeavoured to hire a Boat for *Holland*, whither all except this Examinant were reſolved to go, but by reaſon they could not get clear of *Graveſend* before five or ſix a Clock on Tueſday Night, and ſo might be taken, they laid aſide that Deſign and every one ſhifted for himſelf.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That when this Examinant was much dejected, and refuſed to go for *Holland*, moſt of the Company and particularly Colonel *Romzey* looked wiſtfully in this Examinant's Face, as if they ſuſpected Treachery in this Examinant. Whereupon this Examinant told the ſaid Col. *Romzey*, this Examinant if he were taken, would not ſave his Life unjuſtly, and inſtanced that he had never ſpoke with the Duke of *Monmouth* and could ſay nothing againſt him and would not do Injuſtice to the Colonel but rather give his Right-hand to ſerve him; which Complement the Colonel returned and ſo parted and there was no agreement between all or any the Parties above-named to favour one another and further this Examinant ſaith not.

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The further Examination of Robert West *of the* Middle-Temple *Barriſter at Law before the Lord Keeper the* 27 June 1683.

THis Examinant further ſaith, That Mr. *Richard Rumbald* and a party of his Friends about Ten years ſince deſigned and were prepared to have killed the King and Duke of *York* in their Journey to or from *Newmarket* and lay in Ambuſh for that end, but the King and Duke went an unuſual Road through the Foreſt that time, which they never went before or ſince, and ſo eſcaped them; and the ſaid *Rumbald* alſo told this Examinant that he once had a mind to have taken one of the Cellars under the Duke's Play-houſe, and by placing Barrels of Powder there have Blown up the Play-houſe when the King and Duke were there; but the conſideration that a great number of other innocent People muſt have periſhed in it diverted him from it, though a Friend to whom he communicated the deſign endeavoured to over-rule that objection by ſaying, *What have the Jack-Daws to do amongſt the Rooks?*

And this Examinant further ſaith, That at ſome Meeting before or about *Chriſtmaſs* laſt there was a diſcourſe concerning Surprizing ſome Garriſons in caſe of an Inſurrection and it was propoſed for *Portſmouth*, that ſome Gentlemen ſhould go into the Town and Treat the Officers of the Garriſon who in that bad Air were apt to accept of an Invitation and drink plentifully, and that in the height of their drinking a party of Men who might be brought into Town on a Market-day in Country-mens Habits ſhould Surprize the Guards, who likewiſe to that end ſhould be Treated and it was thought the Townſmen who were uneaſie under the Inſolencies of the Garriſon would be apt to cloſe in and aſſiſt in the Enterprize. *Pendennis* Caſtle was alſo mentioned as a place naked and eaſily ſeized and that might be of great uſe: And this Examinant doth not remember any thing ſaid about *Hull*, but Mr. *Ferguſon* lately told this Examinant, that he had good aſſurances of having *Newcaſtle*.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That after the intended Inſurrection in *November* laſt was laid aſide, *Ferguſon* to the beſt of this Examinants remembrance told this Examinant that the Lord *Shaftſbury* had ſent Mr. *Walcot* to Sir *William Courtney* in *Devonſhire*, to engage him in an Inſurrection and to joyn with ſome Perſon of Quality if it ſhould be thought fit to ſend one thither, but Mr. *Walcot* returned without any incouragement from Sir *William Courtney*: And though this Examinant knew that the ſaid Mr. *Walcot* took a Journey into *Devonſhire*, yet the ſaid Mr. *Walcot* kept the buſineſs of it cloſe from this Examinant and would own only making a viſit to a Friend.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That the Places uſually reſolved on for places of Rendezvous in caſe of an Inſurrection in *London*, were Saint *James-Square*, *Covent-Garden*, *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*,

Fields, *Smithfield*, the *Royal-Exchange*, St. *Georges Fields* in *Southwark*, *Goodmans-Field*, *Spittle-Fields* and *Moor-Fields*, where the Arms in the Artillery Ground were to be Seized.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That Mr. *Roe* told this Examinant, That he had Diſcourſed with one Mr. *Hicks* a Tobacconiſt, an Anabaptiſt Preacher, a great Ringleader of the Anabaptiſts; and that the ſaid *Hicks* had told him, that the Anabaptiſts could, and he believed upon a good conſideration would make up an Army of 20000 Men, and 1500 of the 20000 would be Horſe, and though perhaps there would be a neceſſity of making uſe of ſome great Men at the beginning (and this Examinant thinks he mentioned the Duke of *Monmouth*) yet when the Anabaptiſts were once up, they would not lay down their Arms, till they had their own terms.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That to the beſt of his remembrance he was informed by Colonel *Romzey*, that the Managers of the general Inſurrection had one or more Meetings at the Houſe of Mr. *Thomas Shepard* Merchant in *Abchurch-Lane*, or St. *Clements-Lane* in *Lumbard-ſtreet*, *London*; and that if the Money were paid to the *Scots*, the ſaid Mr. *Shepard* was to return it into *Holland*: and this Examinant, to the beſt of his remembrance, once to twice asked Mr. *Shepard*, whether any Money were paid? who anſwered, it was promiſed ſeveral times, but he had not any aſſurance of its being paid. And this Examinant believes, the ſaid Mr. *Shepard* did know of the intended Aſſaſſination of the King and Duke, but doth not remember that this Examinant had any particular Diſcourſe with the ſaid Mr. *Shepard* about it, the ſaid *Shepard* having failed to meet this Examinant, Col. *Romzey*, and others, ſeveral times when he had promiſed to do ſo.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That Mr. *Ferguſon*, to the beſt of this Examinant's remembrance, told this Examinant ſince the King went to *Windſor*, that there had been ſome thoughts of Surprizing *Windſor* with 500 Horſe, but upon conſideration, it ſeemed impracticable, but he named no Perſons to this Examinant.

And the ſaid *Ferguſon* deſired this Examinant, to ſpeak to Mr. *Richard Goodenough* to meet Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, which this Examinant did; and this Examinant believes, the ſaid *Goodenough* and Sir *Tho. Armſtrong*, have had ſeveral Meetings, and the ſaid *Goodenough* hath Communicated to Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* the deſign laſt carrying on for Raiſing 3000 Men out of the Twenty Diviſions of the City and Suburbs, and the Progreſs that was made in it.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That at one of the Meetings concerning the laſt mentioned Deſign, Mr. *Richard Goodenough* Reported one Man (but would not name him) would undertake to bring 1000 Men out of the Hamlets, and if occaſion were to give ſatisfaction, he would ſhew them all a Footbal Match or other Paſtime, but the ſaid *Goodenough* reported withal, that he found moſt Perſons inſiſt upon terms, and required to know what eaſe and advantage they ſhould have in matters of Religion, their Liberties and Properties, and what aſſurance they ſhould have of their being performed before they would actually engage in Arms, for they would not Fight to change Perſons only, but Things; But whether any thing was done in order to give them ſuch ſatisfaction, this Examinant knows not.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That the fundamentals in this Examinant's laſt Examination mentioned to be prepared by Mr. *Wade*, Col. *Romzey*, and this Examinant, were only rough drawn up by the ſaid Mr. *Wade*'s own Hand; and this Examinant did not write them, nor had any Copy of them, becauſe if they had been approved of, it was intended to have drawn them into form, and therefore this Examinant cannot ſet them forth exactly, but to the beſt of this Examinant's remembrance, the ſubſtance of them was to the effect following.

1. That the People ſhould annually meet at a certain time to Chooſe Members of Parliament, without any Writ or particular Direction to do ſo.

2. That the Parliament ſhould Meet at, and Sit for a ſtated time, and not be Diſſolved, Prorogued or Adjourned, but by their own Conſent, and that no Prorogation or Adjournment ſhould hinder their Meeting before the day, to which they were Prorogued or Adjourned, if there were occaſion.

3. That the Parliament ſhould conſiſt of a Houſe of Lords, and a Houſe of Commons, but the exact number of both or either of them, this Examinant doth not remember.

4. That only ſuch Nobility ſhould be Hereditary as were aſſiſting in this Deſign, the reſt ſhould be only for Life, and upon their Death the Houſe of Lords be ſupplied from time to time with new ones out of the Houſe of Commons, but whether by the Election of the Lords, or of the Prince, this Examinant doth not remember.

5. The Militia ſhould be in the Parliament, and the Parliament have the Nomination if not the Election of all Judges, Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, and other greater or leſſer Officers Civil or Military.

6. That what Acts paſſed in both Houſes ſhould be a Law for one Year without the Prince's Conſent, and what Acts paſſed both Houſes in two ſeveral Parliaments ſhould be a Perpetual Law without his Conſent.

7. That a Council to the Prince ſhould be Elected out of the Parliament, a certain Number of the Lords to be Elected by the Commons, and a certain Number of the Commons to be Elected by the Lords, but the Number of the Council, or of either Lords or Commons to be of it, this Examinant doth not remember.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That before the ſaid *Ferguſon* went for *Holland* this Examinant preſſing him to know, whether the Duke of *Monmouth* were acquainted with the Deſign againſt the King and Duke, and would not Hang all Perſons concerned in it, if it ſucceeded, the ſaid *Ferguſon* ſaid, *what if I get it under his Hand, that he ſhall not?* To which this Examinant anſwered, *It would be ſufficient Satisfaction*; but when the ſaid *Ferguſon* returned from *Holland*, and this Examinant preſſed him again to have Security fit to be relied on, he asked this Examinant, *Whether that were fit to be propoſed to the Duke?* And this Examinant ſaying, *If he durſt not propoſe it, he thought other Men ought not to venture upon it:* Whereupon the ſaid *Ferguſon* ſaid, *That he had mentioned ſomething concerning the King to the Duke of* Monmouth, *but not Aſſaſſinating him*; to which the Duke Anſwered ſomewhat ſternly, *You muſt look upon me in the Capacity of a Son;* Which anſwer for ſome time dampt the Deſign, and

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alwayes clog'd it: But at length it was reſolved, that if the Duke did proſecute the Actors in it, that the Duke himſelf ſhould be killed if it could be done. And this Examinant believes Colonel *Romzey* was preſent at, or made acquainted by this Examinant with the ſaid Diſcourſe.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That the ſaid *Ferguſon*, to the beſt of his remembrance, told this Examinant, that ſome thoughts had been formerly of making an Attempt upon the King and Duke the laſt *Lord Mayors* Day, either going out of the Coach into *Guild-Hall*, or in the Hall at Dinner (which might be done with Men with Swords only) or in their return from thence at *Ludgate*, or *Pauls-Church-Yard*, but for the great hazards in either of theſe wayes, nothing was reſolved on.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That this Examinant perceiving that little or no preparations were made for the laſt Deſigned Attempt in the *Newmarket*-Journey, told the ſaid *Ferguſon* of it, to which the ſaid *Ferguſon* anſwered; That he ſhould have a Sum of Money for it when things were fixt, but not elſe, for a Sum had been Depoſited in a Mans hand (but named not whoſe) for the former deſigned Attempt in the *October* Journey, and though it was not made uſe of, it was not returned, and there was no asking for ſuch Money again. And this Examinant further ſaith, That at one of the Meetings concerning the Attempt upon the King and Duke, this Examinant propoſed to the ſaid *Ferguſon*, that ſome of the Duke of *Monmouths* Servants or Dependants ſhould be brought into the Action, which might be ſome ſecurity to the Perſons engaged, or at leaſt make the World think the Duke concerned in it, if he were not. But Mr. *Rumbald* did not care to engage with any of them, however this Examinant believes the ſaid Propoſal had been Communicated to ſome of them, for that this Examinant was told (to the beſt of his remembrance) either by Colonel *Romzey* or Mr. *Ferguſon*, that Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* offered to engage, if Colonel *Romzey* would; but the Colonel refuſed, and that in caſe of a general Inſurrection, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* would the night before it attempt to kill the Duke of *York*, by going to him with a pretence to diſcover ſome *Plot* againſt him.

And this Examinant was informed by Mr. *John Roe*, That one Mr. *Gibbons*, who was or had been a Servant to the Duke of *Monmouth*, met the ſaid *Roe* in *Covent-Garden*, or carried him thither, and there told the ſaid *Roe*, that was a Convenient place to do the Trick in (by which this Examinant underſtood the Attempt upon the King and Duke) and that he the ſaid *Gibbons* would engage to be one in it.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That about a fortnight before the Kings return from *Newmarket*, when the Attempt was reſolved on to be made, Mr. *Ferguſon* told this Examinant, That the Duke of *Monmouth* and ſeveral Lords ſhould be invited into the City to a Dinner the ſame day that the King was to return, ſo as they might be ready to appear in the City upon the Arrival of the News, and the ſaid *Ferguſon* told this Examinant, that ſome preferment was deſigned for this Examinant, and deſired this Examinant to conſider and give a Note of ſuch Lawyers as this Examinant thought

thought fit to be, and would accept of being Judges; but this Examinant only ſmiled at his vanity, and never gave the ſaid *Ferguſon* any ſuch account.

Robert Weſt.

27. Junii 1683. *Capt.*
& recognit. Coram me

F. North, *C. S.*

The further Examination of Robert Weſt *of the* Middle-Temple, *Barriſter at Law.*

AND this Examinant further ſaith, That at one of the Meetings held for managing the buſineſs of the Aſſaſſination of the King and Duke in their *Newmarket*-Journy, there was ſome Diſcourſe about getting the Arms down to Mr. *Rumbald's* Houſe, and the ſaid *Rumbald* firſt propoſed to put them up in long Cheſts, and ſend them down by ſome Empty Carts from *Smithfield*, and afterwards he thought to make uſe of two truſty Watermen of his acquaintance, who ſhould lay them in the Boat, and carry Oyſters over them (as ſometimes they uſed to carry Oyſters) up *Ware*-River, and land them at, or near his own Houſe; or elſe every Man was to carry his own Arms under long Coats: But no particular way was reſolved on, but ſuch was to be uſed, as ſhould appear moſt ſafe: and at the ſame or ſome other Meeting for the ſame purpoſe, it was diſcourſed how the Men ſhould get down unobſerved, and it was thought beſt that they ſhould go from *London* in the Evening, in ſmall numbers, ſo as to arrive at the place about Midnight, and go into an empty Houſe near *Rumbald*'s own Houſe, where their Horſes ſhould be put into a Barn, and be refreſhed; and *Rumbald* was to ſend away his Servants early to Market, and his Wife and Daughter he reſolved to Lock up above Stairs: But the greateſt difficulty was, how theſe Men ſhould get off after the Buſineſs was done; the Road might be full, and the party Cut off by ſome force that might come from *London*, and therefore *Rumbald* propoſed, that if he ſurviv'd the Action, or were not diſabled in it, to bring them a back way over the Meadows, and over *Hackney-Marſh* (to the beſt of this Examinant's remembrance) which he ſaid was a very good way, and all of it to be Gallopped, and by that meas they might get to *London* as ſoon as the news could: Or elſe the ſaid *Rumbald* offered that the party ſhould retire into his own Yard, which was Walled in with a high Wall, and Moated round, which he would undertake to defend againſt any Force that could aſſault them, and before night he thought all would be diſperſed, and ſhifting for themſelves, and the Road be clear to *London*, but

but which Courſe he would take, was left to his Diſcretion, as the Circumſtances of the Caſe ſhould require.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That the ſeveral wayes propoſed to ſurprize and take the *Tower* of *London* were theſe, to the beſt of this Examinant's remembrance; One was to ſend ten or twelve Men Armed with Piſtols, Pocket-Daggers, and Pocket-Blunderbuſſes into the *Tower*, under pretence of ſeeing the Armory; another number ſhould go to ſee the *Lyons*, who by reaſon of their not going into the inner Gate, were not to have their Swords taken from them; that the perſons who went to ſee the Armory, ſhould return into the Tavern or Sutlers Houſe juſt within the Gate, and there Eat and Drink till the time for the Attempt was come; that ſome perſons ſhould come in a Mourning Coach, or ſome Gentlemans Coach, to be borrowed for this occaſion, under pretence of making a viſit to ſome of the Lords in the *Tower*, and juſt within the Gate ſome of the perſons iſſuing out of the Tavern ſhould kill one of the Horſes, and overturn the Coach ſo as the Gate could not be ſhut; and the reſt of the perſons within, and thoſe who went to ſee the *Lyons*, ſhould ſet upon the Guards, that upon a Signal of the Coach driving down, a party of Men (two or three Hundred or more if they could be got, and were to be lodged in empty Houſes to be hired for that purpoſe, as near the *Tower* as could be had) ſhould be ready to ruſh out, and upon the noiſe of the firſt ſhot, immediately run down to the Gate, and break in. This way if at all put in Execution, was to be in the day time about two a Clock, becauſe after dinner the Officers are uſually diſperſed or engaged in drinking, and the Souldiers loytering from their Arms.

Another way propoſed was, that ſeveral Men ſhould enter Actions againſt one another in St. *Katherine's* Court held for the *Tower* Liberty within the *Tower*, and that at the Court-day, at which time great Liberty is allowed to all Perſons to come in, a party of Men ſhould go as Plaintiffs and Defendants, and Witneſſes, who joyned with ſome others, who ſhould come in under pretence of Curioſity as abovementioned, ſhould attempt the ſurprize, and be ſeconded by the Party from the hired Horſes; and to the beſt of this Examinant's remembrance, a Coach was likewiſe to be made uſe of in this Caſe. And at one of the late Meetings for carrying on the laſt Inſurrection, Mr. *Goodenough* reported, that an *Engineer* told the ſaid *Goodenough*, that he would recommend ſome honeſt ſtout Fellows to be Labourers and Workmen in the *Tower*, who ſhould be acquainted with the Deſign, and ready to aſſiſt in it.

Another way propoſed was, to ſurprize it by night, but that was full of difficulty; and all that this Examinant remembers to have been propoſed was, that a parcel of Faggots ſhould be carried down to the Gate and fired, and to ſome other Part (this Examinant thinks the Water-Gate) if it were practicable, and a great quantity of Faggots ſhould be prepared to throw into the Ditch, and to make up Works. That which moſt perplexed the buſineſs was, that to ſurprize the *Tower* by night, was very difficult, and to begin an Inſurrection in the day time, was as difficult, and would loſe many advantages that the night or break of day would afford; and therefore no reſolution was taken: Theſe were only the Debates of the

meetings of this Examinant, and the other Persons in this former Examination named, but this Examinant never heard what the Principal Managers considered of or resolved on in the Case.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Ferguson* used to go by the name of *Roberts*; and told this Examinant, he was to go for *Holland* with or soon after the Bill for the Money to be paid to the *Scots*, and that the intention was to Land the Arms at *Edinburgh*-Frith, to the best of this Examinant's remembrance.

And this Examinant further saith, Mr. *William Rumbald* told this Examinant, that after it was violently suspected that Mr. *Keeling* had made a Discovery, but had denyed it, it was proposed to Mr. *Keeling* for the satisfaction of his Friends, that he should go into the Country for some time (where it was easie to Kill him and Bury him privately.)

And this Examinant further saith, That after it was certainly known that a Discovery was made, it was said by Mr. *Wade* to the best of this Examinant's remembrance, that if a Thousand Men could be got together, it were better to venture a push here or in the *West*, and die like Men, than be hanged like Dogs: To which it was answered by Colonel *Romzey*, as this Examinant believes, It is in vain to think of it, the Hearts of the People are down, and our Great Men are good for nothing, or used expressions to that effect.

And this Examinant further saith, That on *Monday* was Sennight last, Mr. *Ferguson* perceiving this Examinant much dejected and Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Wade*, Mr. *Norton*, *Goodenough* and *Nelthorp* in some Confusion, laught, and said to them, Gentlemen, you are Strangers to this kind of Exercise, I have been used to flie, I will never leave off as long as I live, and I hope to see some of you at *Dunbarr* before *Michaelmas*, or to that effect.

Robert West.

The further Examination of Robert West *of the* Middle-Temple, *Barrister at Law.*

THis Examinant further saith, That at some meetings concerning a General Insurrection; it was discoursed that a Body of Five hundred Horse would be necessary to scour the Streets, to prevent the Kings Party from embodying, and for Fighting the Horse Guards, or for a pursuit, and to that end it was proposed, that some endeavours should be used to bring up a Party of Horse from the Adjacent Counties, and that some means should be thought on to seize the Life-Guard Mens Horses in their Quarters, and the Citizens and Gentlemens Horses in the Livery Stables, and if there were success, and a great Body of Horse should be necessary, the great number of Hackney Coach-Horses in Town would make a good force. It was further proposed,

propoſed, that Baricadoes ſhould be made in ſeveral great Streets, and ſeveral Churches be uſed for lodging the men.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That at ſome of the ſaid meetings it was reported, that the Kings Regiments of Foot had not their full Compleatment of men, but wanted a great number, and that the Officers uſed to lend one another men when they went upon the Guard, and therefore the Foot were not ſo terrible as might be apprehended.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That it was intended in the beginning of the general Inſurrection in the *VVeſt*, to ſend out a Party of Horſe to ſeize the Marqueſs of *VVorceſter*, now Duke of *Beaufort*, and his eldeſt Son, and another Party to ſeize the Biſhop of *Bath* and *VVells*, and ſome other eminent Men of that Party, if they were then in thoſe parts.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That ſome time before *Chriſtmaſs* laſt, he was informed by Mr. *Koe*, to the beſt of this Examinant's remembrance, that the Country expected the City would have been in Arms on *Michaelmas-Eve*, when the preſent Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* were Sworn, and that he was Credibly Informed, that there were Five hundred Horſe in the Adjacent Counties ready to be marched to their Aſſiſtance upon the firſt notice, and that they continued in a readineſs for two days, expecting notice; but this Examinant doth not remember that he named any perſon from whom he had this Information.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That Mr. *Ferguſon* told this Examinant, that ſome Nonconforming Miniſters had told him, they ſuſpected he was driving on a Deſign to Aſſaſſinate the King and Duke, and beg'd of him to deſiſt; for that it would bring a Reproach upon the Proteſtant Religion, whatſoever the event might be, and that he was forced to aſſure them, there was no ſuch thing intended: but alas, ſaid he, they are weak ſilly men, and not fit for theſe things, who cannot diſtinguiſh between Deſtroying a Prince meerly for his Opinion in Religion, and Deſtroying Tyrants who Deſign to overthrow the Laws, Religion and all Civil Rights, and hate the Nation. It is a pious glorious Action, and ſuch as will teach all Princes to uſe their Subjects kindly, or to that effect.

Robert Weſt.

The

The further Examination of Robert West *of the* Middle-Temple, *Barrister at Law.*

THis Examinant upon further Recollection saith, That after Capt. *Walcot* had acquainted this Examinant of the Insurrection intended to have been made in *November* last, the said *Walcot* came the second time to this Examinant, and told this Examinant, that the Lord *Shaftsbury* had prevailed with him to engage in it; and that if it proceeded he would engage in it, and desired this Examinant to buy for him, the said *Walcot*, a long stiff Tuck of some Cutler this Examinant knew, which this Examinant undertook and bespoke, but was so long before he could procure it, that the said *Walcot* had otherwise provibed himself, and the Design was laid aside first, and this Examinant was forced to keep the said Tuck, the Cutler refusing to take it again.

And the said Mr. *Walcot* told this Examinant, to the best of his remembrance, that the Lord *Shaftsbury* had formerly sent for Sir *George Cambel* and Sir *John Cockran*, about settling a *Scotch* Colony or Plantation in *Carolina*, but he believed that was only a pretence, and that the real truth was to Concert Matters in order to some Design in *Scotland*; for the Lord *Shaftsbury* had sent for him, upon pretence of some Command in *Carolina*, but when he came, the Lord *Shaftsbury* was very cool in it. And this Examinant further saith, That the said Mr. *Walcot* refused a long time to act in any wise, in the Attempt upon the King and Duke in the *Newmarket*-Journey; but at length, by the perswasion of *Ferguson*, as this Examinant believes, he undertook to Command the Party who were to Fight the Guards, or to be one of them, but refused to act in the Assassination it self.

And this Examinant further saith, The said *Ferguson* told this Examinant, that when the Earl of *Argyle* was in *England* last Year, he had offered to make a sturdy Commotion in *Scotland*, if he might have had but 6000 *l.* (for so low he came down from his first demand of 30000 or 40000 *l.*) but our Great Men were jealous of him then, and would not trust him, though he offered that they should employ whom they would themselves to lay out the Money in Arms, which he said was a great Oversight and Opportunity lost. And this Examinant believes, the Assassination of the King and Duke designed in *October* last, was Projected and Abetted by the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and that the Money in one of this Examinant's former Examinations, mentioned to be advanced for that Design, was advanced by the said Earl, because this Examinant had heard (but cannot say positively from whom) that the said Earl complained of having been ill used in that Matter, in the Money not being returned, though it was not laid out.

Infor-

Information of Carleton Whitlock, 5 July 83.

MR. *Weſt* ſome time in *Eaſter-Term* laſt, in the Court of Requeſts, told me, That ſome deſperate Fellows had deſigned to have killed the King, or would have killed the King as he came laſt from *Newmarket*, if they had not been afraid that the Duke of *Monmouth* would have Hanged them. Upon which I told him, That it had been a villanous Action, and that all Mankind would have deteſted the Action, and the Murderers; and that if it ever had been in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Power, he would certainly have Hanged them for it, if they had done it. He told me afterwards, That there was a Deſign of raiſing a conſiderable Sum of Money to buy Arms, as I remember, in *Holland*; and that Major *Wildman*, Col. *Algernoon Sidney*, and *Ferguſon*, managed the Buſineſs; and that my Lord *Ruſſel* was very active in it, or Words to that effect: And that Writings were drawn, or drawing, or to be drawn, for the taking up of the Money; as I remember, he ſaid *Ferguſon* was to manage on the behalf of the *Scots*. This he told me at his Houſe one Day, when I Dined with him; but upon my not Examining him to Particulars, he ſaid nothing to me but thus generally: Only at his Houſe he ſaid, That ſome of them were for a Commonwealth, and others for Monarchy.

At Mr. *Shute*'s Funeral, in the publick Room, *Nelthorp* came to me, and asked me for ſomething for poor *Ferguſon*, as he called him; and told me, He was doing a good Work for all Honeſt Men. I told him, I would give nothing to any Man, for doing a Work I did not know of.

C. Whitlock.

Mr. Edmund Waller's *Confeſſion.*

I Did once meet Mr. *Weſt*, I do not know the certain time; and he rail'd ſo much at thoſe he called *Proteſtant Lords*, that I asked him, If he would have them be Rebels? and told him, That ſuch Men as he, and nothing elſe, could ruine the Kingdom. This was in the *Temple*, before the Hall. The laſt and only other time that I ever ſpoke with him in private, that is, alone (for we walked in the *Temple*-Cloyſters) I met him there; and he told me, That ſome People, not naming himſelf as one, had had a Deſign to ſet upon the King (I am not certain, whether he named *Newmarket*) but he ſaid, It was over. I went from him haſtily, and only ſaid, Theſe things will Hang you, and undo a great many other People: As I remember, when he ſaid, There had been ſuch a Deſign; I told him, I did not believe it: and then he ſaid, It was to have been done as the King came from *Newmarket*; and was going on to ſay more, but I interrupted him, and went away;

and I believe he was jealous of me; for he called after me, and ſaid, There was no Danger. This was, as I think, the *Saturday* before this Conſpiracy was ſpoke of in *Weſtminſter-Hall.*

July 6th. 1683. *Edm. Waller.*

Information of Zachary Bourn.

Richard Goodenough bringing Mr. *Ferguſon*, alias *Roberts*, (for that Name he uſed to go by) to my Houſe, it was a great while 'ere I underſtood any thing at all of the Deſign; but ſo many coming to him daily as did, made me jealous; I did imagine ſomething of it. Upon which he took an occaſion one Day to ask, What I thought about the Gentlemen that came ſo often to him? and then ſays; Admit there ſhould be a Deſign on foot, for the Good of the People of *England*, Would you be againſt it? To which I anſwer'd, If I can do it with a ſafe Conſcience, I could not tell well what I ſhould be perſwaded to. As to that, ſays he, I ſhall eaſily ſatisfie you: And then went on to prove a mutual Covenant between the King, and the People; that his Majeſty had broke it on his ſide; ſo the People were again at Liberty. But to the Matter, ſays he, as indeed I will be plain with you; If you love your ſelf, you muſt come in; for there is a Deſign on foot ſo laid, and ſo far gone, that it is impoſſible it ſhould fail. Then I deſired him, if he thought it convenient, to let me know ſome Particulars; which he ſaid, He would, provided I would promiſe him Secrecy: but eſpecially, I ſhould ſay nothing to my Father or Wife; for he thought, I would not ſpeak to any Body elſe: Upon which I ſaid, I would. And then he was plain, as he ſaid, and told me as follows:

That there was not a County in *England*, but had prepared for the Buſineſs, leſs or more, but eſpecially in the *North* and *Weſt*; and that they were ſure of moſt Places of Strength throughout the Kingdom; but eſpecially, *Briſtol* and *Newcaſtle:* And that they were then a conſidering, how to ſecure *Portſmouth*; but were afraid they ſhould not, the Garriſon was ſo ſtrong.

And that the *Scots* were to ſtir at the ſame time we were; and that we were to lend them 10000 *l.* to be remitted into *Holland*, to buy Arms for them; and that he was to go over with the Bills of Exchange: That he found out a Perſon could depoſite the Money upon good Security, which the Lords had promiſed ſhould be given: That there was a *Dutch*-Merchant or two, that he had got to provide the Arms, for the *Engliſh* could not do it without Suſpicion.

Then I asked him, Who the Lords were? He told me, There was the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Grey*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and Major *Wildman*, and Col. *Sidney*. I told him, I wondred the Duke would be perſwaded to take up Arms againſt his Father; for my part, I ſhould be very

ry unwilling to truſt him. He anſwer'd me, That he had the greateſt Aſſurance in the World of him; and that I need no more be afraid of the Duke, than of him.

He told me, The Lord *Argyle*, who was to command the *Scots*, was of my Opinion too; for he had a few days before, ſent a Letter to him, to be well ſatisfied in the Point; and that he had ſent him ſuch an Anſwer, as he did not doubt would ſatisfie him.

He told me, The Duke of *York* had Fourteen thouſand Men in half pay about the Town: And for his part, he thought we ought to defend our ſelves; for we could not tell, but our Throats might be cut every Night. I asked him, How he could tell all this? He told me, That they had a great deal of Intelligence from the *Tory* Party; for there were ſome, that were willing to play a ſure Game, and ſo keep in with both Sides. Some little time after this, there came one Mr. *John Row*, that was Sword-bearer of *Briſtol*, with one *James Holloway*, of the ſame Place, a Merchant, to enquire for *Ferguſon*; but he was unwilling to ſee them. Then *Row* asked me, to go and give him a Diſh of *Coffee*; which I did: And *James Holloway* gave me an account of the Poſture of Affairs at *Briſtol*; which I wondred at, being the firſt time that ever I ſaw him, *viz.*

That they had been ready this two or three Months; that there was but Eight in *Briſtol*, that knew of it; that he had had ſome Cannon he had taken out of ſome Ships he was concerned in, had lain there ſo long, he was afraid they would miſtruſt ſomething: That he had great plenty of Powder and Bullet in his own Houſe; and that they had a couple of Ships there, that would carry forty Guns a piece; which they intended to ſeize the firſt Riſing, and fit out to Sea. And then their manner of getting together was thus: Some of thoſe Eight had Houſes out of Town, where they would get all of the Town they thought were for their Purpoſe: The Diſſenters, under pretence of a Meeting; and the Others, under ſome Colour or other: And then tell them the Deſign; and if they would not go with them, they would ſecure or force them; and that they would ſeize all the Head Men of the Contrary Party, which were not above Thirty in all: And that they would poſt Men at the Corner of every Street; ſo that there ſhould not a Man ſtir, without they pleaſed.

And that to their Aſſiſtance, they ſhould have ſome Colliers out of *King-Road*, and ſome *Scotch* Pedlers that were about the Country; many of whom were of *Bothwel-Bridge*.

He ſaid further, That the King would have by the Time they begun, a great many Thouſand Pounds, that they ſhould ſeize; and that there was a great many of the *Tory* Party, that had a great Summ of Money by them, which they muſt borrow: And that there was not a good Horſe within Five Miles about them, but they knew where to have him: That they wanted but Two hundred Muſquets; for they thought, they ſhould have more Men than Arms, which he was come up about; which he hoped, the Lords would help them to: But if they could not, Mr. *Wade* would lend them the Money to buy them; and that he ſhould pack them up in Parcels of Goods, and ſend them by the Carrier to his Houſe. Mr. *Wade* told me himſelf, He would do it; that is, lend the Money; but it was ſome time after this. Mr. *Row* ſate by, and approved what *Holloway* ſaid to be true. After this I went down to the Wells, and ſtaid about a Fortnight. When I came

Home

Home again, Mr. *Wade* came to me, and told me, I muſt promiſe Secrecy, and then he had ſomething to ſay me; which was, That Affairs were ſettled every where very well, but in *London:* And though the Lords had a Deſign to let *London* alone; yet they ſaw there was a neceſſity, that the Buſineſs muſt be done effectually in *London;* for if they let that alone, it was enough to maintain a War againſt the whole Kingdom, and that their Friends here would be all ruined: and that in order to the ſecuring of it, they had taken this Method, by which they might know their Strength. They had divided the *Town* into ſo many Diviſions, and had got honeſt Fellows to conſult what Men they might expect out of every Diviſion; and that they had no Body about me, that they thought could ſerve them: and therefore deſired me to think, if it was not poſſible to get about an hundred and ſixty Men out of *Bloomsbury*, St. *Giles*'s, St. *James*'s, and *Soho*; and that I might, by way of Diſcourſe, ask ſome of my Acquaintance, If there ſhould be occaſion to defend our ſelves, whether they could not find out Ten, or Fifteen, or Twenty Men, that would aſſiſt: That they ſhould have a Meeting again in Two or Three Days; and then he would give me an Account of it, and I ſhould go to them. And accordingly, on *Friday* following, being the Eighth of *June*, towards Evening, he came and fetcht me out, and carried me to the *Dragon*-Tavern on *Snow-Hill*; where I met Collonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Robert Weſt*, Captain *Walcot*, Mr. *Norton*, Mr. *Wade*, *Richard* and *Francis Goodenough*. Then I was asked, If I could not do what Mr. *Goodenough* had ſpoke to me about? and was deſired, not to ſay any thing about the Buſineſs to any Body in direct terms, but eſpecially to any of the Miniſters; for *Weſt* ſaid, They were a parcel of Rogues, that had ruined the People ever ſince *Conſtantine*. I told them, I thought Mr. *Mead*, and Mr. *Lobb* might be truſted; and that they were, if they would, capable of ſerving them very much. But they would not hear it then; but the next Meeting, which was on *Monday* the 11*th*. *Ditto*, at the *Salutation* in *Lumbard-ſtreet*, they did think it was neceſſary Mr. *Lobb* ſhould be ſpoke to, but not directly; which I did: For the next Day I went to him, and talking of the badneſs of the Times, I ſaid, There was but one way to help our ſelves, and that was by Arms; and if we ſhould have occaſion to do ſo, I asked him, where he could find a good Parcel amongſt his People, that he thought would ſtir? He told me, That the Spirits of the People were low; but he did believe, there was a pretty many of them, that would make uſe of an Opportunity, if it was put into their Hands: But he could ſee no Hopes of ſuch an Opportunity as yet; we were too great Cowards. But I bid him not be out of hopes: And ſo our Diſcourſe ended; for his Wife came in.

The next Meeting, which was on *Thurſday* the 14*th*. *Ditto*, at the *Dragon* on *Snow-Hill*, *Richard Goodenough* brought in an Account of the Diviſions he was concerned in; which was all the Town almoſt, but where I was; and at *Weſtminſter*, where Mr. *Grange*, a Brewer, was concerned, but he ne're met with us; but *Goodenough* ſaid, He promiſed Two hundred Men, and would be free of his Purſe. At this Meeting, they reſolved on This, which had been Conſulted before, (for now they began to be ſure of the Deſign; for they had a Probability of Eight or Nine Thouſand Men, from the Account *Goodenough* gave in and others) That *Whitehall* ſhould be

ſecured

ſecured, and the manner thus: That the Men in *Weſtminſter* ſhould be ready to make an Attaque on that ſide, that they would get about 100 Sea-men that ſhould come up in Long-Boats with Hand-Granadoes and ſhould Attaque that part next the Water and that a Party of about 500 ſhould come down by *Charing-Croſs*, part of which ſhould ſecure the *Mews*, and the reſt march down and ſurprize the Guards in their ſleep, for it was to have been about one or two in the Morning, and that all the Chief Miniſters of State were to be ſecured, the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs and ſome of the Aldermen, another party to ſecure the *Savoy* and *Sommerſet-Houſe*, and that in *Covent-Garden* and *Lincolns-Inne-Fields* were to be Bodies of Men to be ready to give aſſiſtance if need were, and that all the expedition imaginable was to be made, for now it was put into the hands of a great many, and there was danger of a Diſcovery. Mr. *Goodenough* told us that day that he had met with an Engineer that would do ſtrange things about taking the *Tower*, and that he had ſix or ſeven Mortar Pieces that belonged to the *Tower*, and that he would take care to keep them this Month or ſix Weeks; at that time Mr. *Weſt* ſaid he thought I muſt ſecure my Neighbour, meaning the Lord Keeper, but I told him I would do no ſuch thing as to fall on a Neighbour; truly he ſaid he ſhould be very willing to come to an account with him, and if he did he ſhould put him in mind of *Colledge*. At this time *Goodenough* ſaid the People that he had ſpoke of the Matters to, deſired they might know what they muſt truſt to, for if the Deſign was onely to change Perſons they had as good have the Father as the Son, and therefore deſired ſome Heads might be thought on and carried to the Duke to be ſigned by him the night before the Deſign began, and theſe Five things were reſolved on:

1. That the Militia ſhould be in the hands of the People.
2. That they ſhould chooſe their own Sheriffs in every County.
3. That we ſhould have a Parliament once a year, and that they ſhould Sit as long as they had any thing to do.
4. That they ſhould have Liberty of Conſcience.
5. That all the Nobility of *England* that had acted contrary to the Intereſt of the People ſhould be Degraded.

Mr. *Wade* was to put theſe in Writing, and to carry them the next Morning to Colonel *Romzey* who was to go to the Duke with them, which he did, and on Saturday the 16th. *Ditto* at the *George* and *Vulture* on *Ludgate-Hill* he brought us this Account, That he was to wait on the Duke twice before he could ſpeak with him, but at laſt did; that the Dukes anſwer was, That all of them were things of moment, and that they could not be done without a Parliament but muſt be left to them, that he would do what lay in his power towards the obtaining them, but there being word brought to one *Lee* a Dyer in St. *Giles Cripple-Gate* Pariſh, that there was High Treaſon ſworn againſt him and *Richard Goodenough*, *Goodenough* would not come to us that night, ſo this onely was concluded on, that we ſhould meet on Munday at the *Caſtle*-Tavern in *Fleetſtreet*, and that ſome time on Monday Mr. *Lee* and Mr. *Wade* ſhould go to Mr. *Weſt*'s Chamber to ſurvey the Map of the Town to find fit places to meet in and give us an account at our Meeting, but on Sunday they had an account all was Diſcovered by one *Keeling* whom they had ſome ſuſpicion of ſome days before; upon Monday Morning they met at

Captain *Tracy*'s where Captain *Walcot* Lodged, Colonel *Romzey* came to my Houſe and gave Mr. *Ferguſon* and me an account of it, and took me with him to Captain *Tracy*'s where they conſulted how to retrieve the Buſineſs: Moſt were for puſhing for it, and ſo to die with their Swords in their Hands; and another way was propoſed I think by Mr. *Weſt*, to kill *Keeling* and one Doctour *Butler* which I think Colonel *Romzey* named, who was ſaid to be the perſon brought *Keeling* in to Diſcover, and that this would give them ſuch a Blow would make them afraid: The manner of taking Doctor *Butler* was to be thus: Some men to go to him (as it was to be after the killing of *Keeling*) and undertake to give him an exact Account of the Murder and the reſt of the Plot, and ſo to meet at a Tavern where was a convenient Room for the purpoſe, and there to have Aſſaſſinated him, but I left them in the diſpute and went not again till Morning, when I came there they were all gone but *Weſt*, who told me that one *Rumbald* and others had been in company with *Keeling* all the day before and he had perſwaded them into a belief he had ſworn nothing againſt any Man and ſo eſcaped from them, though this Morning they found to the contrary.

At one time talking to *Ferguſon* about this Matter, he ſaid nothing was to be expected from the Rich old Citizens, and therefore half a dozen of them muſt be taken out of their Houſes and Hanged on their Sign-Poſts and their Houſes given as Plunder to the Mobile and that would ſcare the reſt. Another time meeting *Roe* after the Fire at *Newmarket* a great while, he began to talk of the Deſign at *Newmarket*, which he declined when he found I was ignorant of it, but by him and others I underſtood afterwards that there was a Conſult ſeveral times at *Weſt*'s Chamber againſt the Life of his Majeſty, and that in order thereunto *Weſt* had bought as many Arms as coſt about 100 *l.* of a Gunſmith in *Shere-Lane*, but the Fire happening prevented the Deſign. Another time talking with *Roe*, he ſaid there was no way like Lopping, that was his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs; to which I anſwered, I never approved of ſuch ways, and that he might do it himſelf for me if he would have it done, upon which he replied he would be one with all his heart, and that it might be done through or over my Lord of *Bedford*'s Wall as his Majeſty went to the Play-Houſe, or as he went to *Hampton-Court* from *Windſor*. At another time I met *Weſt* on the *Exchange*, and he told me the Lords were all a parcel of Rogues, and *Ferguſon* a credulous Fool, for that they would Trick upon the *Scots* and us too, that he had laid out a parcel of Money for Arms, and that he could not get it again, which I told *Ferguſon* when I ſaw him but he ſaid he ſhould have it. Some time after I met him in *Lincolns-Inne-Fields* and he told me that he had a Note to one Major *Wildman* for the Money and that he'd go for it next Morning, which he did, but the Major was gone out of Town. Some time after I went to Mr. *Owen*'s in *Bloomsbury*, where *Ferguſon* then Lodged and there I asked him about *Weſt*'s Money, he told me he had given it himſelf, for that it was ſent to him juſt before Mr. *Weſt* came in and he had given it him. On Monday they met at Captain *Tracy*'s, Mr. *Weſt* gave a Note to one *Tottle* to go to the Gunſmith to fetch the Arms he had bought, leſt they ſhould be found there and carry them with him to one of the Plantations, I think *New York*, which *Tottle* did then

profer,

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profer, if they would push for it he would not go his Voyage, though I think he said his Ship was at *Gravesend*, nor would he come alone, but undertake for a Hundred Sea-men and others presently.

The persons that used to come to *Ferguson* were Sir *Thomas Armstrong* very often, sometimes two or three times a day, Colonel *Romzey*, Captain *Walcot*, Mr. *Wade*, Mr. *Norton*, *Richard Goodenough*, *Richard Nelthrop*, Mr. *West*, Mr. *Charleton* with a wooden Leg, Mr. *John Freak*, Mr. *Blaney* once or twice, Mr. *Thomas Shepard* Merchant, Sir *Robert Rich*, *John Starkey*, (Mr. *Baily* a Scotch-man, and Sir *Camel*, and a great many more of his Country-men) and several from *Wapping*, all whom I know when I see, also Mr. *John Aylyff* used to come when he was in Town.

Ferguson told me of a certain person of Quality in that part of *Ireland* next *Scotland* that could raise Twenty thousand Men, and that he had promised it, I asked his Name but he would not tell me; he told me it was *Aaron Smith* was sent to *Scotland* about this business, and that he had like to have spoiled all, but that the person to whom he carried the Letter went to the Council and shewed them a Letter he had about some business of *Carolina*, and asked leave to come to *London* about it, and so got off this suspition.

Zec. Bourne.

July the 6th, 1683.

Zec. Bourne's *further Information.*

THat Mr. *Baily* the Scoth-man sate up one night with Mr. *Ferguson*, and he went several times with him to the Duke, and the other Lords, that *Ferguson* Lodged at several places a few nights at a time and so to my House again, at one Mr. *Bickerstaff*, a Sword-Cutler in *Covent-Garden*, at a German Doctors at the Green Posts in St. *Martins Lane*, and Mr. *Owens* in *King-street* in *Bloomsbury*.

That we met at the *Salutation* in *Lombard-street* by the perswasion of Captain *Walcot*, for he said Mr. *Thomas Shepard* would meet us there, he went out of Town every night and so could not come further, that I have often carried Letters to the Exchange to Mr. *Shepard* from *Ferguson*, that he used to come often to my House to him, that I believe him to be the Man was to return the ten thousand pound, for *Ferguson* told me he had a great Correspondence with several Merchants in *Holland* and that he did return my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Money when he went over.

That

That Captain *Walcot* would have ſpoke to one Mr. *Collins* an Anabaptiſt Preacher (he Preaches ſomewhere in *Moor-fields*) that could aſſiſt us greatly, but they would not hear of it being a Parſon.

Mr. *Weſt* told me that Mr. *Ayloff* was at the buying the Arms in *Shear-lane*, and if at the buying, I ſuppoſe at the contriving the uſe for them; that two or three days before the Diſcovery was made by Mr. *Keeling*, thinking the buſineſs was pretty ripe, Mr. *Norton* was deſired to write to Mr. *Ayloff* to come to Town which he did.

That *Ferguſon* deſired me to tell them one night when we met, that he muſt have a party to ſeize Mr. *L'Eſtrange*, for he ſhould find ſtrange Papers, and that great care muſt be taken to ſecure the Paper-Office at *Whitehal*.

Zec. Bourne.

THat *Ferguſon* told me that one Mr. *Owen* of *Grays-Inn* would give a hundred pound towards the Deſign, and further he told me that he was the Author of thoſe two Libels, *viz. A Letter about the Black-Box*; And *a Letter concerning His Majeſties Declaration*: that as he walked in the Fields at that time the Diſcourſe was about the Black-Box, it came into his mind to write about it, which he did in an Ale-Houſe in *Chancery-lane*, and that afterwards when His Majeſties Declaration came out concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*, he finding no body took notice of it in Print, he reſolved to write an Anſwer to that, which he ſaid he did as he lay in his Bed one Morning, and further told me, he got one thrown on His Majeſties Hat as he walked on the Tarras Walk at *Windſor*, and another laid under his Pillar, but would not tell me who it was had ſo diſpoſed of them two for him; and farther told me that the Duke of *Monmouth* gave him fifty Guinies for that piece of ſervice and ſo hath done every year ſince. Mr. *Bethel* that was Sheriff of *London* was once at my Houſe with *Ferguſon* and had ſome private Diſcourſe with him.

Zec. Bourne.

The

The further Examination of Robert Weſt *of the* Middle-Temple, *Barriſter at Law.*

THis Examinant upon further Recollection ſaith, That at the Meetings for carrying on the Aſſaſſination of the King and Duke, it was reſolved, that Sir *John Moor* the late Lord Mayor of *London* ſhould be killed, as well as the preſent Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and that if the people did not pull him in pieces, his Skin ſhould be ſtead off and ſtuft and hung up in *Guild-Hall*, as one who betrayed the Rights and Priviledges of the City.

And it was further reſolved that Mr. *Papillion* and Mr. *Dubois* ſhould be declared Sheriffs, and Sir *Thomas Gold* or Alderman *Corniſh* (but this Examinant thinks Alderman *Corniſh* was pitch'd on as the brisker Man) to be Lord Mayor, and that they ſhould be forced to take thoſe Offices upon them, and if they refuſed ſhould be knocked on the head. And Sir *Robert Clayton* and Sir *Patience Ward* who had behaved themſelves like Trimmers in their Mayoralty, and neglected to repeal ſeveral By-Laws whereby they might have prevented Sir *John Moor* from being Lord Mayor, ſhould be forced to appear publickly and own the fact, or elſe be knockt on the Head.

And it was further propoſed that moſt of the Judges ſhould be killed or brought to Tryal for their Arbitrary Judgments, and their Skins ſtuft and hung up in *Weſtminſter-Hall.*

It was further ſaid by Colonel *Rumzey*, to the beſt of this Examinants remembrance, that though he was not for ſhedding much blood, there would be a neceſſity of taking off ſome of the chief Abhorrers and Addreſſers in moſt Counties, otherwiſe they would be making head; but this Examinant was of opinion that a publick Declaration of ſafety to their perſons and Eſtates if they would ſubmit, was a better expedient and would win more upon the People: And it was further reſolved that ſome of the prineipal reputed Pentioners in the late long Parliament ſhould be brought to Tryal and Death, and that there Skins ſhould be ſtuft and hung up in the Parliament Houſe, as Betrayers of the People, and of the Truſt. It was propoſed that Biſhops Deans and Chapters ſhould be wholly laid aſide, but no reſolution was taken concerning their Lands, becauſe the preſent Tenants might be induced to ſubmit in hopes of preſerving them, and would be ſure to ſtruggle if they ſaw they muſt loſe them, and thoſe who had thoſe Lands in the late times would be ſure to engage in Arms for us or ſubmit in hopes of having thoſe Lands again. Some diſcourſe was had of applying thoſe Revenues, and of one half or two thirds of the Colleges in both Univerſities to publick uſes in eaſe of the People from Taxes. It was further propoſed that it ſhould be publickly declared to the people that they ſhould be eaſed of the Chimney Mony, and have Toleration in matters of Religion, which was thought would engage all the meaner people: That *England* ſhould be a free Port, and all Strangers who would ſhould be Naturalized, which was looked upon as a means to engage Foreigners on our ſide, that there ſhould be no Taxes for the future but the Exciſe and Land-

Taxes which ſhould be appropriated to particular uſes, and all forfeited Eſtates ſhould be applyed ſo too.

And this Examinant further ſaith that this Examinant enquiring of *Ferguſon* what Fond of Money was provided, it was anſwered by him and Colonel *Romzey*, that if the buſineſs were done and backt with ſucceſs there could be no want of Money, there would be half a years Revenue of the Chimney Money then due beſides what the Exciſe-Office and Cuſtom-houſe will afford, and that there was Money and Plate enough among the Bankers and Goldſmiths which muſt be taken up upon Publick Faith if there were occaſion, and be punctually repaid again for the reputation of the Cauſe.

And this Examinant further ſaith that when *Walcot* agreed to engage in the ſaid Action he deſired his Name might be concealed whatſoever the effect of it proved; whereupon *Ferguſon* replyed no Man ought to be aſhamed of it, for 'tis a glorious Action and ſuch as I hope to ſee rewarded by a Parliament, and that the Actors in it ſhall have Statues erected to them with Inſcriptions of *Liberatores Patriæ*.

And this Examinant further ſaith that he acquainted Mr. *Thomas Shepard* Merchant that this Examinant had provided Arms in his former Examination mentioned, and that *Ferguſon* promiſed to ſee for a conveniency of committing the Aſſaſſination between *Hampton-court* and *Windſor*.

And this Examinant further ſaith that Mr. *Bourn* a Brewer between great *Queen-ſtreet* and *Parker-lane* was acquainted with the intended Inſurrections, and hath talked with this Examinant about them, and declared himſelf ready to engage in an Inſurrection, but not in the Aſſaſſination, and the ſaid *Bourn* was knowing of the Arms bought by this Examinant, but was not at the Meeting when they were agreed to be beſpoken; and this Examinant believes he acquainted Mr. *Carleton Whitlock*, Mr. *Edmund Waller* both of the *Middle-Temple*, and Mr. *Holford* of *Chancery-lane* of the intended Aſſaſſination and Inſurrection in *November*, but he did not do ſo till after the time for Execution was paſt: And further ſaith, that in the beginning of *October* laſt this Examinant met with Colonel *Sidney* at *Uxbridge*, where the ſaid Colonel told this Examinant that many tricks had been plaid in the Scrutiny of the Poll for the Lord Mayor, and that Sir *William Prichard* was declared though not duly choſen, but ſaid he, all that I can ſay to it is what a Juſtice of Peace of *Eſſex* ſaid lately to a Country Fellow brought before him for Killing a High-way-man that would have Rob'd him; Friend ſays the Juſtice you have done well, but you might have been Rob'd if you would; and ſo we may be inſlaved if we will, or elſe need not, or he uſed words to that purpoſe, but this Examinant to the beſt of his remembrance never ſpake to the ſaid Colonel ſince.

Robert Weſt.

The

The further Examination of Robert West *of the* Middle-Temple *Barrister at Law.*

THis Examinant upon further Recollection saith that *Richard Goodenough* and *Francis Goodenough* formerly offered to act in the intended Assassination of the King and Duke if a sufficient number of Men could not be got to do it; but afterwards believing there were Men enough besides, they both declined it.

And this Examinant further saith, that at some of the Meetings concerning the said Assassination, Colonel *Rumzey* said it would be very convenient to take off Colonel *Legg* the now Lord *Dartmouth*, for he was a stout Man and of desperate Courage, and believed if he could get into the *Tower*, would in Revenge fire all the Gunpowder in the White *Tower*, which would endanger the whole City. And it was said concerning the Lady *Ann* Daughter to the Duke of *York*, that it would be best to Marry her to some small Country Gentleman and have a Breed only to keep out any Forrain pretenders to the Crown; and at one of the said Meetings, when it was discoursed whether the King or Duke should be killed singly, it was agreed, that *Rumbold* should send out a Spye before, who by some signs should give an account at a distance whether the King and Duke were both together or not; and at one of the said Meetings when it was designed that it would be convenient to take off some of the Chief Ministers of State, as the Lord *Keeper*, Lord *Halifax*, Lord *Hyde*; *Richard Goodenough* said, take the Keeper Prisoner, and Try him at *Oxford* for the Death of *Colledge*, and hang him upon the same Post on which *Colledge* was hanged.

And at one of the said Meetings this Examinant saying he was well enough Armed for one, for he had a good Musket Blunderbuss and Case of Pistols; the said *Rumbold* desired to see 'em, and finding 'em very good said he believed he must use the Blunderbuss in the Assassination, and told *Ferguson* he must Consecrate it if he should use it.

And this Examinant saith that at one of the said Meetings, this Examinant was appointed to speak to one Captain *Bon* a Seaman at *Ratcliff* to undertake the Raising a body of Seamen to surprize the *Tower* in case the Assassination had been committed, and this Examinant accordingly proposed to the said *Bon* whether he would undertake to do so; but the said *Bon* replyed he was going to settle in *America* where he was born, and did not care to be concerned, and feared he had not interest enough amongst the Seamen if he would, which this Examinant reported to the next Meeting, and the said *Bon* is since gone to live in *New-England* where he was born, or in *New-Jersey*.

And this Examinant further saith that *Richard Goodenough* told this Examinant that he had spoken to one Mr. *Grange* a Brewer in *Westminster* to try what Men could be Raised in *Westminster* for carrying on the last Design of Raising three thousand Men out of the

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City and Subburbs, and alſo ſpoken to one *Barnes* a Hatter in *Fleet-ſtreet* to try what Men might be raiſed thereabouts, but this Examinant never ſpake to either of the ſaid Parties about it, neither doth this Examinant know nor hath heard what other Perſons were employed by *Goodenough* or any other Perſon in that Deſign, and further ſaith not.

Rob. Weſt.

The further Examination of Robert Weſt *of the* Middle-Temple *Barriſter at Law.*

THis Examinant upon further Recollection ſaith that when the Inſurrection intended in *November* laſt was reſolved on and *Walcot* agreed to engage in it, the ſaid *Walcot* deſired this Examinant to lend him ſome of this Examinant's Suit of Silk Armour, *viz.* a Back, Breaſt and Head-piece, and afterward asked this Examinant to take ſome Command of Horſe under him and to engage ſome young Men of the Temple, telling this Examinant he could make this Examinant a ſufficient Officer in two or three days time, but this Examinant refuſed to engage himſelf or his Friends either, though he offered the ſaid *Walcot* the uſe of his Armour.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That when the Arms in his former Examinations mentioned were ordered to be beſpoke; it was alſo propoſed that *Ferguſon* ſhould provide the 600 *l.* he pretended to have ready for that purpoſe to buy Horſes, which ſhould be kept at Livery-Stables in the names of private Gentlemen, and be always in a readineſs to be made uſe of as an opportunity for any Aſſaſſination or other Occaſion ſhould offer, and the night or two before they were to be uſed ſhould ſeemingly be brought out of the Livery-Stables by men to be employed for that purpoſe, but *Ferguſon* not bringing the Money no Horſes were bought.

And this Examinant further ſaith, That after the Treaty with the *Scots* ſeemed to be at an end, and the 10000 *l.* not like to be had, *Ferguſon* told this Examinant that the Duke of *Monmouth* was willing to ſpeak with this Examinant and *Goodenough* to conſider what ought to be done in the City and Suburbs, and to leave the Lords and other people (by which this Examinant ſuppoſes he meant the Lords *Grey* and *Ruſſel*, *Sidney* and *Wildman*) but this Examinant refuſed to go to the Duke or to Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, and knows not whether *Goodenough* went to the Duke, though he did go to *Armſtrong*.

And *Ferguſon* likewiſe told this Examinant, That if the *Engliſh* would not agree to ſtir, it was his opinion and the opinion of many of the Duke's Friends, and of the *Scotch* Gentlemen that were here, that the Duke ſhould go to *Scotland* and head the *Scots* there; where-

whereupon Mr. *Wade* who was then present said, If the Duke did go thither he would wait upon him in the Expedition as a Voluntier.

And this Examinant further saith, That at some Meeting for the carrying on the intended Assassination, *Ferguson* said the King went frequently in the night cross St. *James*'s Park in a Chair without any Attendance, and that it would be easie for Two Men with Swords barely to dispatch him and make their Escape; whereupon Colonel *Romzey* said it was a strange thing to him, that the great Men who were so desirous to have the business done, should not make a Purse and buy some good Office at Court for some Man whom they could trust, who should roar loud of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Wiggs, and by that means get into reputation and trust and should observe and give an account of the King's and Duke's Walks and Hours and any Journeys they designed; and the said Colonel said he had told *Armstrong* so and bad him tell his Lords.

And this Examinant further saith that about the time the Insurrection intended in *November* last was carrying on this Examinant observed the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick* and *Walcot* to be very intimate and often together, and the said *Walcot* told this Examinant that the Lord *Howard* was as right as any Man for the business and as forward to engage, but this Examinant doth not remember that he ever spoke with the Lord *Howard* himself about that Insurrection. And further saith Mr *Roe* told this Examinant that *Gibbons* the Duke of *Monmouth's* Servant offered to be one to commit the Assassination of the King and Duke. And further saith not.

Rob. West.

The further Examination of Robert West *of the* Middle-Temple *Barrister at Law.*

THis Examinant further saith, That after *Ferguson* had told this Examinant that a Sum of Money for carrying on the Assassination of the King and Duke in *October* last was paid to a certain Person who never returned it, of which the Lord *Shaftsbury* complained: The said *Ferguson* at another time a little before the Discovery told this Examinant that *Richard Goodenough* was the person to whom that Money was paid, and that he called *Ferguson* Fool for returning some Money he had received for the same purpose and Colonel *Romzey* told this Examinant that Mr. *Charleton* paid that Money.

And this Examinant further saith that when Mr. *Goodenough* told this Examinant that he would speak to *Hone* the Joyner to be one of the Assassinates, he said he would first try him whether he would undertake an Attempt upon the Duke of *York* before he would break the whole Business to him; and as he found

him willing to that he would proceed. And this Examinant believes Mr. *Goodenough* did accordingly, for that the ſaid *Hone* coming to this Examinants Chamber ſoon after, and being asked by this Examinant whether he had lately ſeen Mr. *Goodenough*? The ſaid *Hone* anſwered he had, and talked with him about a Jobb upon the Duke of *York*: And this Examinant asking him whether they were agreed? *Hone* replyed yes, but this Examinant doth not remember that *Hone* then mentioned the King or any Name or deſcription implying the King. And about five or ſix weeks ſince the ſaid *Hone* came to this Examinants chamber about a ſmall alteration this Examinant deſigning to make in his Chamber; and then the ſaid *Hone* asked this Examinant; Maſter will nothing be done? To which this Examinant anſwering he believed not, the ſaid *Hone* replyed, if this Duke of *Monmouth* would be true and appear openly, I could bring fifty or ſixty honeſt Fellows from our ſide of the Water (meaning *Southwark*) who would be ready for buſineſs as well as my ſelf, and this Examinant asking him what buſineſs? *Hone* replyed any buſineſs, either a brisk puſh (by which this Examinant ſuppoſed he meant a General Inſurrection) or the other Trick or Jobb of taking off the two Brothers, the Captain and Lieutenant which were two Names uſed for the King and Duke.

And this Examinant further ſaith that when the Diſcourſe was had concerning the Killing the Miniſters of State, Colonel *Romzey* ſaid, the Lord *Halifax* was one of the Greateſt Rogues, and deſerved it more than any Man, for he profeſſing himſelf formerly of our Party knows our weakneſs and Diviſions and hath expoſed us and made the Court venture upon things which they would never have done otherwiſe. And when *Goodenough* propoſed that the Lord *Keeper* ſhould be Hanged where *Colledge* was Hanged this Examinant having an Opinion that the Lord *Keeper* was an Enemy to this Examinant and had uſed him very hardly in a Cauſe this Examinant lately had in *Chancery*, this Examinant deſired that he might have the Cuſtody of the ſaid Lord *Keeper* a little while to make him ſenſible of his unkindneſs to this Examinant, but this Examinant never deſigned or deſired to Kill the ſaid Lord *Keeper* or any other perſon, nor would have had his Hands in any Mans Blood.

And this Examinant further ſaith that *Ferguſon* lately told this Examinant that Mr. *Cromwel*, Son of *Richard Cromwel*, who uſually goes by the Name of Mr. *Cranbourn* was ſo vain as to endeavour to make a Party for himſelf or his Father in the City: and *Goodenough* formerly, *viz.* about *Chriſtmaſs* laſt told this Examinant that he believed the ſaid Mr. *Cromwel* and Mr. *Ireton*, the Son of Lieutenant General *Ireton* would aſſiſt in the intended Aſſaſſination of the King and Duke in Perſon.

And this Examinant further ſaith, that Mr. *Goodenough* told this Examinant that he had ſpoken to one *Partridge* a Shoemaker and *Almanack-Maker* in *Covent-garden* to Act in this Aſſaſſination, and that the ſaid *Partridge* offered to joyn in it if it were to be done in Town but was not able to Ride and therefore would not joyn in the Attempt out of *London*: And further ſaid that the ſaid *Partridge* had erected ſeveral Schemes and thereby found the Duke of *York* would ſcarce out-live *March* or *April*, and that the King was under

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an ill Direction too, and the People would be Victorious. And Mr. *Ryley* told this Examinant the ſame thing as to the Schemes erected by *Partridge*.

And this Examinant further ſaith that Colonel *Romzey* told this Examinant that when Mr. *Trenchard* refuſed to go into the Weſt and raiſe a Force for the intended Inſurrection in *November* laſt, the ſaid Mr. *Trenchard* was ſent for to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Houſe about it, and there were preſent the ſaid Duke, the Lord *Gray* and Colonel *Romzey*. And further told this Examinant that the Lord *Ruſſel* had prepared to go the then next morning to his Poſt which was ſomewhere in the Weſt, but this Examinant doth not remember the place.

And this Examinant further ſaith that after the Diſcovery, *Walcot* told this Examinant, Colonel *Romzey*, *Wade*, *Norton*, *Nelthrop*, *Goodenough* and *Ferguſon*, that notwithſtanding the ſaid Diſcovery he was perſwaded God would yet deliver this Nation, but he did not approve of the preſent Inſtruments who had undertaken it, or uſed words to that purpoſe.

And this Examinant further ſaith that he having a Son lately Born deſired Colonel *Romzey* to be Godfather, who ſaid he would not, except he might name him *Brutus*, but was afterwards prevailed with to do that Office, and give the Name of *John* to the Child being the ſaid Colonels own Chriſtian name.

Robert Weſt.

The further Information of Robert Weſt *of the* Middle-Temple *Barriſter at Law.*

THis Examinant upon further recollection ſaith, that *Ferguſon* formerly, *viz.* ſoon after his return from *Holland* told this Examinant that Dr. *Owen* and one Mr. *Collins* either an Anabaptiſt or Independent Preacher were the moſt ſenſible Miniſters about the Town, and were both of Opinion that the intended Aſſaſſination and Inſurrection were both lawful and neceſſary, and that Colonel *Owen* Dr. *Owens* Brother was Privy to them and joyned with Colonel *Sidney* and Major *Wildman* in the management of the Treaty with the *Scots*, and that one Mr. *Mead* a Nonconformiſt Miniſter was zealous in the buſineſs of an Inſurrection but was not for beginning it in *London*, and Mr. *Nelthrop* told this Examinant the ſame thing of *Mead*, and that he was able to Raiſe a thouſand Men or more.

And this Examinant further ſaith that Mr. *Nelthrop* told this Examinant that in caſe of an Inſurrection which he much deſired, he would go along with the Lord *Ruſſel* whereſoever he took his Poſt and would furniſh out himſelf and a man with able Horſes and Arms, and a good ſum of Money.

And

and missing of him he returned back to the Tavern where he found the said two *Keelings* and *Goodenough* and some others who this Examinant doth not know; and there the said *Goodenough* and both the said *Keelings* retired into a private Room, but what passed between them this Examinant doth not know neither hath he seen them since. This Examinant further saith that about *Michaelmas* last was twelve month as he remembers Mr. *Goodenough* spoke to him to make a private place between his Roof and the Ceeling Joists of his House with intent as he told this Examinant to put Mony in it because the times were dangerous. So this Examinant cut the Rafters and untyled part of the House and made such a private place, and made a Frame and a Door for a Man to go in, and the Bricklayer Tyled it over and over the Door, but what use the said *Goodenough* afterward made of it this Examinant knows not. This Examinant saith that the Persons engaged in this Conspiracy are Mr. *Richard* and *Francis Goodenough*, Mr. *Robert West*, the two *Rombalds*, and one *Adderton* a Glasier, and *Lee* a Dyar, and both the *Keelings*, and a Crape-Weaver who lives about *Chiswel-Street*.

This Examinant saith that he hath work'd for the said Mr. *West* at his Chamber in the Temple, and one day meeting him in *Fleet-Street* he asked this Examinant if the Ball were once up whether Gamesters would come in in four or five hours time? This Examinant replied he thought they would. And at another time being at Work at his Chamber they fell into discourse together concerning the Deposing of the King and the Duke, and words to that purpose, but what the particular words were he doth not well remember. This Examinant saith that to the best of his remembrance as he was Drinking with Mr. *Lee* at the *Kings-Head* Tavern in *Chancery-lane* about a Fortnight after *Witsontide* last, the said Mr. *Lee* told him there was a Captain of a Ship would appoint the hurling of a Silver Ball at *Blackheath*, which would draw a great Company of People together, and then he would give them Brandy and then they would go and seize on the *Tower*.

This Examinant further saith that he being at Work at one Mr. *Percivals* at *Chipenham* where the said *Adderton* the Glasier was also taking order to Work, the said *Adderton* asked this Examinant if Mr. *Goodenough* had said any thing to him about the Business? This Examinant asked him what Business? The said *Adderton* replied he had told *Lee* of it, and that was all passed between them.

Will. Hone.

Capt. & Cognit. coram me Die & Anno præsen.

Will. Turner.

In-

Information of William Leigh.

I Do declare that my first acquaintance with Mr. *Rowse* and Mr. *Lee* was by reason of Captain *Blagg* and his Business to go his Mate, and the first time that ever Mr. *Rowse* spoke any thing to me about the Plot, was one day I met him by the *Exchange*; He told me he had something to say to me; and to the best of my remembrance he asked me presently after, if I did know of any Seamen that were fitting to make Captains in *Wapping*: I told him No, but I would see what I could do; and he promised, he and Mr. *Lee* to come to the *Blew Anchor* by *Wapping* Dock next morning about Ten a Clock but came not: Another day, he and Mr. *Lee* came down and discoursed with some of Mr. *Rowse's* Friends that he met; but they did not like his way and so parted.

And the first time that ever I heard of tossing up of a Ball was by Captain *Blagg*, but I do declare I knew not the meaning of it till Mr. *Lee* and Mr. *Rowse* asked me about taking the *Tower*; and whereas he or Mr. *Lee* and Mr. *Rowse*, or both, asked me about tossing up of a Ball, as I take it on *Black Heath*: I asked what they would do there? They told me there was some Hundreds of Horse ready in the Country; and as for Captain *Blagg*, I heard him say that Mortar-pieces over *Southwark* side would be the best way for the taking of the *Tower*; and I have heard him say, as near as I can remember, he could raise some Seamen, but the number I have forgot; and all that Mr. *Lee* spoke before the King and Council in my hearing was true. All this I am willing to attest; and for knowing of any others besides Mr. *Lee* and Mr. *Rowse* and Captain *Blagg* to be concerned in this Plot, I know not, neither can I call to mind any words spoken by any but those three.

William Leigh.

The further Information of William Leigh.

Shall it please your Majesty,

SInce I sent in my Paper, I have sent something more which came in my mind since, That is about getting some Seamen that might be fitting to go Commanders or Captains of Ships; and as he asked if I could not get two or three; sometime afterwards I did enquire what he would do with them, he told me to make Masters of Ships.

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I asked for what end? He told me to put in Ships at *Deptford* or *Woolwich*, that is Men of War to make Guard Ships to ſtop all going and coming: I did ask him what he would do with them when there was no Guns nor Powder nor Shot on board; but I told him if he had the *Tower* then he might do ſomething: but his Anſwer was, if not then, ſome time after that, ſays he, Mr. *Rous* by Name we muſt ſecure the *Tower* and *Whitehall* both together, or elſe there could be nothing done: For, ſays he, we muſt take the King and then our work is done, to the beſt of my remembrance: I asked what was then his *Oath of Allegiance*? He told me if they had the King he ſhould be King ſtill, but fight under his Commiſſion. I do think Mr. *Lee* was there preſent.

Will. Leigh.

Infor-

Information of the Lord Howard *to the King the* 11*th. of* July 1682.

The First Part of my Narrative being a Summary Account of all that Occurred to my Knowledg from September 29*th* 1682. *to the time of the Earl of* Shaftsbury*'s Death.*

ABout the middle of *September* 1682. I had occaſion to go to a ſmall Eſtate at *Tolibury* in the County of *Eſſex*, where I continued about a Fortnight waiting to hear of the ultimate iſſue and reſult of the long conteſted Election of the Sheriffs of *London*, which was ſhortly to receive a final Determination by the Swearing of the new Sheriffs into their Office.

During which time of my continuance in the Country I received two or three Letters from Captain *Walcot*, importing in a myſterious Stile, well enough underſtood by me, that the matters of Negotiation betwixt me and the Merchant my Correſpondent were brought to a good Concluſion, and that my preſence was ſpeedily deſired for the better perfecting the ſame.

Upon the 29th. of *September* (being the day which put an end to the long Diſpute about the Sheriffs) I returned to my Houſe at *Knightsbridge*, where I had not been above two or three days before I received a Viſit from Captain *Walcot*, who acquainted me that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had withdrawn himſelf from his own Houſe into a Retirement in the City, where (though he was ſecreted from moſt of his Friends yet) he deſired to ſee me, for which purpoſe his Lordſhip had ſent him to me to ſhew me the way to his Lodging.

I preſently cloſed with the Invitation, and went along with him to one Mr. *Watſons* Houſe about the further end of *Woodſtreet* (reckoning from *Cheapſide*) where I found his Lordſhip alone, who immediately begun to adviſe me in this manner, *viz.*

That finding the due Election of the City fruſtrated by the Pſeudo-Sheriffs forcibly obtruded upon them, he could no longer think himſelf ſafe (though Innocent) in the future adminiſtration of Juſtice which muſt hereafter be expected to be wreſted by ſuch Miniſters to the Humour of the Court, but this Danger threatned not him only, but me alſo, and all honeſt Men in *England*, in the ſenſe whereof he had thought it neceſſary for him (and believed it no leſs neceſſary for me) to withdraw himſelf into the City, where he had made ſuch preparations (meeting with a diſpoſed matter) that he did not doubt but in a ſhort time he ſhould be able to reduce things to a better poſture: That in order hereunto there were ſeveral Thouſands (I think he mentioned 10000) who were ready upon Notice given to betake themſelves to Arms. Firſt to make themſelves Maſters of

the City, and afterward Sally out and Attack the Guards at *White-Hall*, that they were to be assisted with about a 1000 or 1200 Horse to be drawn insensibly into Town from several adjacent parts of the Country under the Conduct of several good Officers, amongst whom he made mention of Major *Brenan* (and of him only) but there was nothing hindred the putting of this into speedy Execution but the Backwardness of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Russel* (to whom were affixt the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Brandon*, Sir *Henry Ingoldsby*, and several other Gentlemen who would not stir without the Duke) who had unhandsomely failed him after their promise given him to be Concurrent with him in the like undertaking (at the same time) in *Devonshire*, *Sommersetshire*, *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and other Counties to give variety of Diversion to the standing Forces; That the Lord *Grey* seemed to be more forward then than the rest to joyn with him, with whom (if he could be gained) he intended to Couple me for the raising of *Essex*, and that the Lord *Herbert* and Colonel *Romzey* would be assistant to him in the Conduct of the City Affairs, together with very many Eminent Citizens who desired to have their Names spared till the time of Action, with many other particulars too long to be enumerated in this short Summary.

To all this I answered, That I was glad to hear and was willing to take it upon his Credit, that the City was in as great a readiness for Action as he had expresst; and that there would be so considerable a Body of Horse brought out of the Country for their Aid as he had intimated, nor did I doubt but he had prudently provided for all the requisites to so great an undertaking. But withal that I could not but be much surprized to hear that there should be so great a misunderstanding betwixt him and those Noble Lords whose Concurrence I thought absolutely necessary for so great a Work, that if they had failed him (as he had related) after an appointment made, they had acted very unsuitably to the Character they bore, and would deservedly forfeit the opinion was had of them, that I must be allowed the Liberty to discourse with them about it and till then to suspend as well my Censure of them as the Resignation of my self to him in the matters propounded by him; upon these terms I parted from him promising to see him again within a day or two.

The next day I went to *Moor-Park*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* then was and in short acquainted him with what I had heard, as well concerning himself as the Lord *Russel*, &c. He absolutely denied that he, or (as he believed) my Lord *Russel* had ever made any such appointment with my Lord *Shaftsbury*, that they were altogether Ignorant of what was doing by the said Earl, who for some time (upon what *Capricio* he knew not) had withdrawn himself from them and acted upon separate Councils of his own grounded (as he feared) upon the hasty Conceptions of some Hot-headed Men, who might lead him into some untimely undertaking, which in all probability would prove fatal to himself and all the Party: For prevention of which he said he would be glad (if he knew where) to give him a Meeting, and to resettle a better understanding with him.

Having had this Account from the Duke I made a second Visit the next day (being *Thursday* the 3d or 4th of *October*) to the said Earl,

to

to whom I communicated what had paſſed the day before betwixt the Duke and me, and thereupon took occaſion to ſtrengthen my ſelf with Arguments of the abſolute neceſſity of a ſpeedy Conference betwixt him and the other Lords as well for the removing the preſent miſapprehenſions they had of each other, as alſo for the Conſolidating them into ſuch an Union and Concert of Councils as might render them all joyntly helpful to the Common Intereſt by an harmonious and uniform Acting to the ſame end in which they did all agree however they might differ in the means. This I urged upon him with all the vehemency that the nature and importance of the thing required, but he ſtill perſiſted in a refuſal of a Meeting, ſaying with ſome more than ordinary warmth, That he had long diſcovered in the Duke a backwardneſs to Action, by which they had loſt great opportunities, that he had cauſe to ſuſpect that this artificial dilatorineſs of the Duke proceeded from a private agreement betwixt his Father and him to ſave one another. That People (ſo he termed that Imaginary Army in the City) were impatient of longer delays, having advanced ſo far already that they could not ſafely retreat: The intention of an Inſurrection being communicated to ſo many that it was morally impoſſible to keep it from taking Air if it was not ſpeedily brought into Act, that one of his Friends (whom I afterwards underſtood to be *Rombald*) had drawn almoſt an Hundred Horſe into *London* by ſmall and unobſervable Parties a little before *Michaelmas* Day, who (after they had continued here a good while at their Expence) were again retired to their reſpective places of Abode; That ſuch frequent Diſappointments would weary the Party and flat their Spirits and make them at laſt reſolve to ſit down in a total Deſpondency; But it was much to be feared the Duke acted with a Proſpect very different from theirs, he deſigning nothing more than the Advancing himſelf whilſt they could not hope that ever their Liberties ſhould be well ſecured for the future, but under the Government of a Commonwealth: That for theſe Reaſons he was fully determined to be no longer expectant upon the Duke's Motions, but would purſue his former intentions of Attempting the deliverance of his Country by the help of an honeſt Brisk party in the City, with whom if the reſt of the Lords would be co-operating they might ſhare with him in the glory of ſo honourable an Undertaking, but if they would not he hoped he ſhould be able to effect the Work without them.

Howard.

July 11. 83.

This was the Subſtance of the ſecond Conference I had with him, which I reported the next day to the Duke, who deſired me to make one Aſſay more to procure an Interview.

This occaſioned my going to the ſaid Earl a third time upon Saturday the 5th or 6th of *October*, at which time I did prevail with him to give me a promiſe of meeting the Duke and my Lord *Ruſſel* the next day in the Evening, but in ſtead of coming, he ſent his Excuſe

cuſe both to the Duke and me, the next Morning by Colonel *Romzey*, and ſtreightway removed to another Lodging, where he continued to ſecret himſelf till the time of his departure out of *England*.

During the time of his Concealment, divers intimations were given, ſome to me by Captain *Walcot*, others by others to the Duke of Days appointed for their intended Inſurrections; One appointment was about the later end of *October*, at which time the Kings return from *Newmarket* was expected; but this was prevented by the Duke, who prevailed with them to put it off to a longer day in expectation of a Concurrence of the Country with them.

This Adjournment (as I remember) was for a Fortnight, at which time returns from the Country gave Diſcouragement to the proceedings.

After this the ſecond of *November* was made a day peremptory, as I have been informed, but that alſo was put off I know not upon what Diſappointment, which often Failures cauſed the ſaid Earl to take Reſolutions of Conveying himſelf beyond the Seas, which he did accordingly.

Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation, I have ſeveral times had ſome dark Hints given me from Captain *Walcot*, from *Goodenough*, from *Weſt*, from *Ferguſon*, of Striking at the Head, of ſhortning the Work by removing two Perſons, by which I did apprehend that there was a deſign of making ſome Attempt upon the King and the Duke, or one of them; but when and where, and by whom, and in what manner and place this was to be acted, I never ſaw.

This ends the Tranſactions during the Life of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the reſt ſhall be made a Second Part.

Howard.

July 11. 1683.

A Continuation of my former Narrative.

After the Death of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, it was conſidered, That as there had appeared both in City and Country, a very prompt and forward diſpoſition to Action; ſo it might juſtly be feared that either the minds of Men might (in time) ſtagnate into a dull Inactivity, unleſs proper Acts were uſed to keep up the fermentation; or (which was equally dangerous) that the unadviſed Paſſions of a Multitude might precipitate them into ſome raſh and ill-guided undertakings, unleſs they were under the ſteering and direction of ſome ſteady and skilful hand. For prevention of both theſe Evils, it was thought neceſſary that ſome few perſons ſhould be united into a Cabal

a Cabal or Council, which ſhould be as a concealed Spring both to give and to guide the motion of the Machine.

The perſons deſigned to this general Care were the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, Mr. *Algernoon Sidney*, Mr. *Hambden* Junior, and another whoſe Abilities and Qualifications did in no degree fit him for ſuch a Province.

The firſt Meeting of theſe Six was about the middle of *January* at Mr. *Hambdens* Houſe, at which Conſultation there was only propounded ſome General Heads, which were afterwards (upon more mature thoughts) to be Debated, *viz.* Where the Inſurrection ſhould be firſt made, whether in the City or in the more remote parts of the Country, or in both at the ſame inſtant; what Counties were thought to be beſt diſpoſed to, and beſt fitted for this enterprize; what Perſons in the reſpective Counties were the moſt uſeful and moſt ready to be engaged; what Towns eaſieſt to be gained, and the moſt proper for a general Rendezvous: what Arms were neceſſary to be provided, how to be got, where to be diſpoſed, what ſum of Money was of abſolute neceſſity to anſwer publick occaſions; how and by what Methods ſuch a ſum of Money was to be raiſed ſo as not to draw into obſervation, nor to adminiſter occaſion of jealouſie: And laſtly, which was the principal and thought to challenge the chiefeſt Care, how *Scotland* might be drawn into a Concert with *England* and which Perſons there fitteſt to be Conſulted withal about this Matter.

This was the ſum of that days Conference.

The ſecond Meeting was about 10 days after, at the Lord *Ruſſels* Houſe, where were preſent every one of the foreſaid Six.

At this Meeting it was propounded that a ſpeedy underſtanding ſhould be ſettled with the Lord *Argyle*, and that in order thereunto ſome fit Perſon or Perſons ſhould be thought of to be ſent to him, and to be a conſtant *medium* of Correſpondence betwixt him and them that care ſhould be taken to be rightly informed of a true ſtate of *Scotland*, of the general Bent and Inclination of the People, of the Capacities or Incapacities they were under, and that ſome truſty Meſſenger ſhould be forthwith diſpatched thither to invite two or three of the moſt valuable Gentlemen of that County into *England* to the end they might be adviſed with about the general Deſign.

The Perſons nominated to be called into *England*, were the Lord *Melvin*, Sir *John Cockran*, and I remember another Gentleman of the Family and Alliance of the Lord *Argyle*, who (if I miſtake not) was of the ſame Name alſo, and a Knight, but of this I retein but an indiſtinct remembrance.

Some other things were conſidered of, but of no great moment.

At the Concluſion of this Meeting it was agreed, that there ſhould not be any other Meeting of this Cabal (unleſs in caſe of ſome extraordinary Emergency) until the return of the Meſſenger ſent from hence, and the arrival of the foreſaid Gentlemen out of *Scotland*.

This affording a kind of Vacation I ſoon after went into *Eſſex* whether I was called by the Concerns of my Eſtate, after that I went to *Bath* whither I was enforced to go by the Infirmity of my health, ſo that what was done or argued on after this, I can give no account but by hearſay.

Howard.

July 11. 1683.

A Supplement of ſome things which (upon recollection) have occurr'd to my memory ſince my former Information.

I Remember that my Lord *Shaftsbury* complaining of divers perſons who had deſerted him and fell ſhort of their Engagements to him, amongſt the reſt named his Couſin *Charleton* (meaning Mr. *Charleton* of *Totteridg*) who (he ſaid) had promis'd and was able to bring in great aſſiſtance to him, upon which he did much rely, but was quite fallen from him, and had ſo wholly attacht himſelf to the Duke of *Monmouth* and my Lord *Ruſſel* that he would act only by their meaſure.

Speaking alſo of Major *Wildman*, He ſaid that he was very forward in the Work, and very active in it; And being told by me, that amongſt other things which were wanting in ſuch Enterprize, the want of ſome Great Guns ſeemed to me not to be the leaſt. He told me that they ſhould be furniſhed with two Drakes by a Friend (whom he did not name) which two Drakes I have ſince thought may be thoſe two ſmall Pieces found with Major *Wildman*.

The Perſon mentioned in my former Narrative who (as my Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid) had offered to kill the Duke with his own hands, I do now diſtinctly remember to be Mr. *John Ayloffe*, to whom he Anſwered [*No* Jack *thou ſhalt not kill him till we have an Arm'd Force to Juſtifie it.*]

About the 10th or 12th of *October* after a ſtop put to the then intended Inſurrection, the Duke of *Monmouth* told me that he had ſeriouſly thought of it (meaning the Inſurrection) and that after divers ways propoſed and ſeriouſly conſidered of he was clearly of Opinion that there was nothing ſo eaſie to be accompliſhed, nor ſo probable to do the Work effectually as to fall in upon the King at *Newmarket* with a ſmart party of Horſe of about Forty or Fifty, which he ſaid he could ſoon have in a readineſs. To which I anſwered, That I was of the ſame opinion, but whether or not it would be decent for him to appear in perſon in an Attack to be made when the King was in Perſon deſerved his conſideration. Two days after I ſpoke to him of it again, and ask'd him what thought he had of it; He anſwered me that it could not be brought about ſoon enough. After which

which I never Diſcourſed more with him about it; but upon reflection I am apt to think that from this time and not before the Deſign of Way-laying the King in his return to *London* was firſt meditated, and I am the more confirmed in this Opinion from the Conſideration of the behaviour of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Grey* who ſeemed to be very big of Expectation of ſome great thing to be attempted upon the day of the King's coming from *Newmarket*, upon which day (as I have before obſerved) Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* was not to be found till the King's Coaches were come into Town, and I do verily believe he was to have headed the Party. To this alſo may be added, That the Duke of *Monmouth* within few days after told me that he had that day given order to have his Horſes carried into *London* to have been in a readineſs to have Mounted upon any Emergency.

I do further call to mind, That there is a conſiderable Perſon living in *Spittle-Fields* whom I very well know, and have often been in his Company (but cannot remember his name diſtinctly) this Man I have been told did undertake to bring in two or three Hundred Men upon the ſtrength of his own Intereſt when occaſion ſhould require; He is well known to Mr. *Weſt*.

Howard.

Further

Further Information of Colonel Romzey, June *the* 11th 1684.

SIR *Thomas Armſtrong* was at the Meeting at Mr. *Shephards* when I was there, and was one that undertook to view the *Savoy* and *Mews* to ſee in what poſture the Soldiers were and how eaſie or difficult it would be to ſurprize them.

Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* did tell that *Gibbons* came to him and acquainted him that Mr. *Roe* and he had been to ſee the Earl of *Bedfords* Garden and told him that was a fit place to take off the King and Duke at, but in other Terms which now I have forgot.

Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* did come to me the Sunday night after the Fire at *Newmarket* and told me that he juſt came from *Ferguſon*, and that notwithſtanding they returned ſo ſoon *Ferguſon* did not doubt to have Men ready by that time to do the buſineſs and deſired me to go with him to *Fergusons* Lodging in his Coach which I did, when I came there *Ferguſon* told me the ſame but that they wanted Mony, Mr. *Charleton* not being to be found, upon which Sir *Thomas* deſired me to lend ſome and he would ſee me repaid and ſaid if he had been in ſtock he would have done it himſelf; upon their perſwaſion I went to my Houſe I think in Sir *Thomas* his Coach and brought forty Guinnies; he again repeated that he would ſee me repaid; ſeveral times after he told me *Ferguſon* had my Mony and wondred I would not go to him to receive it.

After the Diſcovery Sir *Thomas* came one night and told me he wondred I was not gone and did importune me to be gone with the firſt and in the mean time to keep cloſe for that I was mightily hunted after.

J. Romzey.

A Letter from Sir *William Stapleton*, Governor of the *Leeward Iſlands*, to Sir *Leoline Jenkins*.

Nevis Jan. 25th. 1685.

Righ Honourable,

WHAT *now offers to inform your Honours is that having ſeen the Kings Proclamation and a Liſt in Print of the Conſpirators in the laſt Moſt Deteſtable Plot; I found one* James Holloway *Merchant therein ſpecified fled and Indicted, who went by another Name,* viz. John Milward, *whom I have cauſed to be ſecured in order to ſend him home by the next good opportunity, which is by one Captain* John Wilkinſon *Commander of the Ship* Joſeph *of* London *a good Sailer.*

William Stapleton.

The

The Information of James Holloway *Read the* 11th *of* April 1684.

Great SIR,

I Your Majesties most humble, but too much misled, and disobedient Subject do here most faithfully, according to the best of my Remembrance, give you an Account of what I knew concerning the late discovered Conspiracy, how I came to be concerned, how far I was concerned; how it was to have been carried on in *Bristol*: why I did not come in at the first Discovery, and cast my self at Your Majesties Feet for Mercy; how I made my escape, and where I was till taken. If I shall through forgetfulness omit any thing that it may be thought I am privy to, I shall be ready and willing truly to answer any question that shall be asked by Your Majesty, or any Your most Honorable Privy-Council, no way despairing of Your Majesties Mercy, but remain in hopes that that Fountain of Mercy which hath so abundantly flowed from Your Sacred Breast ever since Your happy Restauration is not yet Dry, and that there is some drops left for me, who doubt not but to Serve Your Majesty both at home and abroad, much more Living than my Death will.

That which I have cause to impute the occasion of my being Concerned, was my too Publick Spirit, preferring Your Majesties and my Countries Interest much before my own, but especially in attending the two last Parliaments, promoting an Act for the Encouragement of the *Linnen Manufacture*, and the preventing of Frauds in Your Majesties Customs, *&c.* Which would have brought in, and saved to Your Majesty near 200000 *l. per An.* and employed many thousands of Poor, *&c.* as is well known to many Worthy Persons about your Court, and indeed proved my Ruine, otherwise than in this Concern, by bringing me into too great Acquaintance for one of my Capacity, and by that to be concerned as I was. My Attendance on those two Parliaments I doubt have been mis-represented.

How far I was Concerned.

After the Dissolution of the two last Parliaments, I observed a great dissatisfaction in People in most parts where I travelled, but heard nothing of any Design till *July* 1682. when one Mr. *Joseph Tyly* of *Bristol* came from *London*; I meeting with him, asked What News, he answered to this effect, All bad, and if some speedy course be not taken we shall be all undone, for by their Arbitrary, Illegal ways and by force of Arms they have got Sheriffs to their Minds, Witnesses they had before, but wanted Jurors to believe them, now they have got Sheriffs, naming Mr. *North* and Mr. *Rich*, who will find Jurors to believe any Evidence against a Protestant, and so hang up all the Kings Friends by degrees; I then told him that I thought it was impos-

ſible ſuch things could be done, but the King muſt hear of it; no ſaid he, there's none ſuffered to come near the King, but thoſe who have been declared Enemies to the King and Kingdom by Parliament, naming ſome that were mentioned in the Printed Votes, who to ſave themſelves do indeavour to keep all ſuch things from the Kings knowledge, and perſwade him againſt Parliaments, with much more ſuch-like diſcourſe, by which I found the ſame was diſcourſed throughout *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* as a means to engage People. At length he told me that the Proteſtant Gentry, naming the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Howard* of *Eſtrick* and others were come to a Reſolution, ſeeing fair means would not do, but all things on the Proteſtants ſide are miſrepreſented to the King by ſuch great Criminals, and none more in favor than thoſe, to take the King from his Evil Council, and that by an Inſurrection in ſeveral parts of *England* at once, *viz. London*, *Briſtol*, *Taunton*, *Exeter*, *Cheſter*, *New-Caſtle*, *York*, and ſome other places in the *North*, and that there would be a conſiderable party ready in *Scotland*, and another in *Ireland*, Therefore, ſaid he, we muſt conſider how to manage affairs in Briſtol, for if they proceed at *Michaelmas* in chooſing Lord Mayor as they did Sheriffs, and to ſwearing of *North* and *Rich*, it muſt begin in *October* or *November*, otherwiſe there will be ſome Sham-Plot contrived to take off moſt of the Stirring Men in the laſt Parliaments; with much other Diſcourſe to the ſame effect, adding, that Mr. *Wade* would come down very ſuddenly, by whom we might expect a full Account of all. About the end of *Auguſt* as near as I can remember, Mr. *Wade* came down, who confirmed what Mr. *Tyly* had ſaid, but could ſay little as to any farther Reſolution they were come to above, either of any Time or Method agreed upon, but that the Deſign went on, and men were imployed in all parts to try how people were inclined, who found enough ready and that there would be no want of Men, if it was once begun. Then we conſidered how it might be managed in *Briſtol*, and what Number of men might be needful for the firſt Onſet; towards which he ſaid, We might depend on 150 Men from *Taunton* or thereabouts, and concluded that 350 might be ſufficient to ſecure it without the Bloodſhed of one man, it being our Deſign to ſhed no Blood if poſſible, but this we reſolved not to acquaint any of our Friends with, till the Day and Method was reſolved, of which he ſaid we ſhould have ten or fourteen days notice; and having ſoon conſidered of a Method, waited in expectation of further Advice, but none came till *November*; then we heard that ſome diſ-appointment happening they were forced to delay it, though there was more and more cauſe for it. The end of *December* or beginning of *January* had advice that it was deferred to the beginning of *March*. The third of *March* I came to *London*, and meeting with Mr. *Wade*, asked him how things went, who anſwered that he could not tell what to make of it, for he could find nothing done more than was nine Months before. The Great Perſons who were the Managers having done nothing but talkt of things, but now there was ſome others appointed to manage it, who were Men of Buſineſs naming them to me, *viz.* The Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Howard* of *Eſtrick*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Major *Wildman*, Mr. *Hambden* the younger, and Mr. *Charlton*, who he did ſuppoſe would make ſomething of it, and not do as the others had done, make a years talk to

enſnare

enſnare many thouſands of people to no purpoſe; for theſe had already ſent Meſſengers into *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to know their minds, naming one *Aaron Smith* ſent into *Scotland*, and at the return of the Meſſengers would come to a reſolution as to time and method, but he was confident they could not be ready before *Midſummer* by reaſon they had done ſo little in order to it. Mr. *Wade* was then deſign'd into the *Weſt* upon the Earl of *Stamford*'s Buſineſs, and ſaid if he could underſtand any thing more before he left *London* he would take *Briſtol* in his way and acquaint us with it. This Journey he brought me to Colonel *Romzey* with whom we had little diſcourſe, he being going forth with his Lady. The ſixth of *March* I left *London*, and went directly for *Briſtol*; about the twelfth of *March* Mr. *Wade* came to *Briſtol*, but then could ſay no more than as above, the Meſſengers being not come back from *Scotland* nor *Ireland* and was of his former opinion, that if any thing were done, it could not be before *Midſummer*, he then expected to be about two Months in the Weſt, and ſaid that if any thing was agreed upon ſooner, one Mr. *Weſt* a Councellor had promiſed to write to him in the name of *Ingleſtone*, and direct his Letter to be left at his Brothers in *Briſtol*, who *Wade* ordered that if any ſuch Letter came, to open it, and if any thing material in it, to ſend it by a Meſſenger to him into the Weſt. About the 17th of *March* came a Letter for him from *Weſt* in the name of *Ingleſtone*, which his Brother opened, and not underſtanding the Stile, brought it to me, but I knew not the meaning thereof. The Contents was to deſire Mr. *Wade* to get his Clients together the next *Saturday* come Fortnight, for that was the day appointed to Seal the Writings, and neither of us underſtanding it, his Brother ſent it by a Meſſenger after him, who found him at *Taunton*, and his Anſwer by the Meſſenger was, that he knew not the meaning of it, but ſhould be within ten Miles of *Briſtol* the next *Saturday*, deſiring that if any other Letter came, to ſend it to him. About three days after came another Letter as above, deſiring him not to call his Clients together, for the time of Sealing was put off, which Letter was alſo ſent to him, but he underſtood it not, ſaying, it was ſome raſh buſineſs or other and ſo went back again.

The fifth of *April* I came to *London*, and that evening went to Mr. *Weſts* Chamber in the *Temple* where I found him, who then did not know me, but when I told him my Name, from whence I came, and mentioned the two Letters Mr. *Wade* received from him, he began to be ſomewhat free in Diſcourſe with me. I then told him that Mr. *Wade* and his Friends were ſurpriſed at the Letters, not knowing what he meant by them, and did deſire to know, concerning which he ſeemed a little ſhie, but after a little Diſcourſe, began to tell me, ſaying, There was a Deſign to take off the King and Duke coming from *Newmarket*, which they expected would have been that *Saturday* mentioned in his Letter, had not the Fire happened, which cauſed them to come ſooner; Nay, ſaid he, had we known they would have ſtayed ſo long as they did, their buſineſs ſhould have been done: I then asked him what he meant by deſiring Mr. *Wade* to get his Clients together by that day, and what he could propoſe they ſhould have done, to which he could ſay little, only that they might be ready. I then told him, that I thought it a very raſh thing, and that few in *England* would approve of it, that

I was ſure none about us would, being a moſt Cowardly diſhonourable action, beſides the baſeſt ſin of Murther; Then, ſaid he, what is deſigned by the General Deſign but to take them both off, and if it had been done that way, it would have prevented a great deal of Bloodſhed in the Nation; No, ſaid I, no ſuch thing is deſigned as I know of, the General Deſign being only to get the King off from his evil Counſels, who had adviſed him to put a ſtop to Proceedings againſt Popiſh Plotters by Diſſolving of Parliaments, *&c.* and to bring all Popiſh Offenders to Juſtice, and ſuch who had betrayed the Liberty of the Subject; and this I think was all the Diſcourſe we had at that time, being the firſt of my acquaintance with him: that night I went with him to a Tavern in *Fleetſtreet*, where was Captain *Norton*, *Richard Goodenough*, and one Mr. *Aylif*, who, to my knowledge, I never ſaw before nor ſince; whilſt I was with them there was no Diſcourſe of any Buſineſs, but I ſoon left them together. The next day Mr. *Roe* of *Briſtol*, brought me to Mr. *Ferguſon*, at the Houſe of one Mr. *Bourne* a Brewer, but was not admitted to ſee him himſelf; *Ferguſon* then went by the Name of *Roberts*, who when I had told my Name and from whence I came, was pretty free in Diſcourſe with me, and told me the Deſign went on very well, that there were ſome *Scotiſh* Gentlemen come up, who were treating with the Managers, and did hope they would agree in fews days, and come to a Reſolution both as to time and method, of which we ſhould have timely notice, but by all his Diſcourſe at that time I could not perceive that he knew any thing of the *Newmarket* Deſign.

That day I had ſome diſcourſe with Colonel *Romzey* at his houſe who I found was privy to the *Newmarket* Buſineſs, and his Opinion was that the General Deſign would come to nothing, for he did not approve of the Managers actings, and ſaid there was nothing like the other Deſign, for that would put an end to all in a little time; when I told him that I thought none in our parts would be for it which I think was all the Diſcourſe we then had, only he promiſed that if any thing was agreed before Mr. *Wade* came up, I ſhould hear of it, ſo I took leave and went for *Briſtol* the next morning. About ten days after, hearing nothing from them, (*Ferguſon* having told me that he thought all would be agreed in four or five days, and promiſed to adviſe) I wrote to Mr. *Weſt* deſiring to know how they went on, who wrote me that they ſtill met with delays, and were come to no Concluſion, after that I heard no more till *May*. About the beginning of *May* I came up to *London* again, in Company with Mr. *Wade* and ſome other *Briſtol* men, but when we came up, my Buſineſs being in the City, and theirs about the *Temple*, we parted; after two or three days I met with Mr. *Wade*, and asked how he found things, who told me, he doubted all would prove a Sham, for he thought there was nothing intended, finding nothing materially done in order to what had been ſo long diſcourſed. Then we went to Mr. *Weſt*, and diſcourſed him fully about the Contents of his Letters, who told us, they were reſolved to kill the King and Duke as they came from *Newmarket*, in order to which, he had provided Arms for fifty Men, Piſtols, Carbines and Blunderbuſſes, and that they were promiſed the Houſe of one *Rumbald* a Malſter, which lay in the Road, and the King muſt come by his Door, there the men

ſhould

ſhould have been Lodged. Then we asked who was to have acted it, to which he could give but a ſlender Anſwer, and could or would name but two Men, who were *Rombald* and his Brother, ſaying, if they could have raiſed ſix or eight hundred pounds to have bought Horſes, and ſomething to encourage men, they ſhould have had men enough; ſo that we found they had few men, if more than two, and no Horſes, only a parcel of Arms, which afterwards he ſhewed us at a Gun-ſmiths Houſe in a little Lane near *Temple-Bar*. Then we asked him what they deſigned if it had taken effect, to which he anſwered, that the men ſhould have come up with all ſpeed to *London* and diſperſed themſelves immediatly, declaring for the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that the King and Duke being dead, no oppoſition could be made; then we asked who were for this Deſign, he named Colonel *Romzey* and *Richard Goodenough*, and, as far as I can remember, no more; ſo we found it was carried on by them contrary to the knowledge or approbation of thoſe who managed the General Deſign: then we declared our great diſlike of it, telling him, it was a baſe Diſhonourable and Cowardly Action, and would ſeem odious to all the World, that any pretending themſelves Proteſtants, ſhould be concerned in ſuch a Bloody Action, and that we thought it was his Cowardize put him upon it; to which he ſaid, that he could not Fight, but would be as forward with his Money as any of his Capacity. Then we went to Colonel *Romzey*, who we found to be wholly of *Weſts* Opinion, ſaying, that except ſomething be done that way, I know nothing will be done at all, for he knew the other Managers would do nothing; ſo we had little Diſcourſe at that time. After this we went to *Ferguſon*, who told us how things ſtood; we then found that he knew of both Deſigns, but was only for the Inſurrection, and told us, that the Managers had been Treating with ſome *Scotch* Gentlemen; that they were almoſt agreed, and the Money they were to be ſupplyed with, would be ready in three or four days, being ten thouſand pounds which was to be returned to *Holland* to buy Arms, *&c.* for *Scotland*. He alſo told us that the *Scotch* Gentlemen had made another propoſal to the Managers, thus, If they would ſupply them with thirty thouſand pounds, they would begin it in *Scotland* firſt, which they could ſoon have, and then would Invade *England*, deſiring the Managers only to get a Party in the North of *England*, ready to oppoſe any Force from coming out of *England* againſt them, before they had ſetled *Scotland*: but this was not approved of, the Managers chuſing rather to ſupply them with 10000 l. and to begin it in *England* the ſame time. Then we daily expected to hear when the Mony would be paid, but ſtill found nothing but delays, the Managers not agreeing how to raiſe the Mony, and that if the Mony had been ready, they were come to no Concluſion as to any method more than they were nine months before, having done nothing but talked to enſnare people, reporting about in all parts how the Liberties of the people were daily more and more infringed, and that Arbitary Government and Popery was coming in apace; which incenſed people very much, and made ſuch a grumbling in all parts, that we fear'd longer delays would make the common people in many parts mutiny, it being as we thought ſo gen'rally known; except ſomthing was ſuddainly done, it was impoſſible it ſhould

remain undiſcovered; ſo the next time we met with *Romzey* and *Ferguſon* (tho never together) we declared our diſſatisfaction by Reaſon of ſuch long delaies, and ſpoke it ſo as that it might come to the managers Ears, as we ſuppoſe it did, being to this effect: That we thought they had only a deſign to betray people, drawing many thouſands into a ſnare, for their actions ſhewed little otherwiſe, being ſo long diſcourſing a thing of that nature, and done ſo little towards it: few days after meeting with *Romzey* again, he told us they were of different opinions concerning a method, ſome for beginning the Inſurrection only in *London* and *Scotland*, ſome for it in all places at once as at firſt propoſed, others for ſeveral places in *England* and *Scotland*, and not in *London*, ſaying, that if it was not begun in *London*, but in other places, there would be forces raiſed in *London* to ſend out againſt them, which would take out moſt of their ſtrength, and that then *London* might be eaſily ſecured; ſomtimes they were for beginning it only in *London* and *Scotland*, and to have people come up to *London* from all parts of *England*: to which we anſwered, that we thought no way better than what was firſt propoſed, (*viz.*) the beginning of it in many places at once, as before mentioned, for although we had engaged none in or about *Briſtol*, nor ſhould not endeavour it till all things were concluded, yet with the aſſiſtance we were promiſed from *Taunton*, did not doubt but to get men enough to ſecure it, and that we knew not where to get ten men that would come for *London*, and ſuppoſed it might be ſo in other places, men might be willing to ſecure their own Country, who would not be willing to leave all and come for *London*. *Romzey* then ſaid, if he knew where to get at the head of 1000 men, he would begin it preſently, and deſired that we might meet the next night with ſome others and conſider of things; ſo the next afternoon we met at *Richard*'s Coffee-Houſe near *Temple-Bar*, and from thence to a Tavern near, I think called the little or young Devil Tavern, where met eight perſons, (*viz.*) Colonel *Romzey*, *Robert Weſt*, Captain *Norton*, Captain *Walcot*, *Richard Goodenough*, *Francis Goodenough*, *Nathaniel Wade* and my ſelf (this was the firſt time I knew *Walcot*.) When we were all ſit, *Colonel Romzey* ſpoke to this effect, as near as I can remember the ſame words: Gentlemen, If we can raiſe three thouſand men in and about *London*, there is a perſon of Honour will appear at the head of them and begin the buſineſs; which we ſuppoſed to be the Duke of *Monmouth*, and do not well remember whether he mentioned his name or not. Which propoſal much ſurprized Mr. *Wade* and I, that he ſhould then queſtion the raiſing of 3000 men, whereas when it was firſt mentioned to us, we thought they had been ſure of many thouſands in *London* at an hours warning. Then it was conſidered how 3000 men might be raiſed, and how they might do ſomething to the purpoſe: Then we declared what method we had concluded on for the management of Affairs in *Briſtol*, which was as followeth, and they could think of no better way: ſo it was concluded that *London* and the Suburbs ſhould be divided into Twenty parts, and one man made choice of in each diviſion, who ſhould chuſe out ten in his diviſion that he could truſt, and each of thoſe ten to find out fifteen, which would make 161 in each diviſion; ſo that twenty diviſions would produce 3220. In order to which, a Map of *London* was to be bought the next day,

and

and each diviſion drawn out in a particular Paper, mentioning every Street and Lane of note in it, with the North, Eaſt, South and Weſt bounds thereof, and to be brought the next Meeting two or three nights after; at the firſt Meeting it was agreed, that none ſhould know of this Deſign, *viz.* (of the chief Managers) till all the Men were ſecured, and that thoſe ſeven (I being not to ſtay long in *London*) ſhould meet every two or three nights till all was compleated. At this meeting *Romzey* and *Weſt* would be often ſaying, there was nothing like the lopping buſineſs, meaning the taking off the King and Duke, and that it might be eaſily done as they went to or from *Windſor*, or to or from the *Play-Houſe*, but I never heard any agree with them in it. Next Day a Map was bought and brought to *Weſt*'s Chamber in the *Temple*, where ſome met to divide it and draw out the diviſions againſt the next meeting. The next place we met at I think was the Caſtle-Tavern in *Fleet-ſtreet*, where ſome of the diviſions were brought, all being not done, and then it was conſider'd how they ſhould be diſtributed, being we were moſt ſtrangers; and agreed, that *Richard Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff, and ſo had a general Acquaintance, ſhould do it, who was willing to undertake it, the reſt of the diviſions to be ready againſt the next meeting, which was two or three Nights after at the Green-Dragon Tavern upon *Snow-Hill*, where when Mr. *Goodenough* came he told us, That he had diſpoſed of ſome of them, and did hope it would take effect, and that in a week or ten Days he ſhould have fixed the twenty Men; the conſideration how things ſhould be manag'd, was deferred till they were ſure of the Men, only ſome mention'd their Opinions how the *Tower*, *Whitehal*, and other places might be beſt ſurpriſed. The *Tower* was thought might be beſt gained in the Day time, *Whitehal* and other places in the night, with many ſuch things in way of diſcourſe: *Romzey* was ſtill upon the old ſtrain of killing the King and the Duke, ſaying (at this the laſt meeting I was at, (going for *Briſtol* next Morning) that it might be done in *Windſor-Park*, and that he would undertake it, but not except every one there preſent would go with him, to which not one conſented, I replying, that I was for no ſuch thing; but ſeeing the other buſineſs had gone ſo far, and was known to ſo many, if they could bring it to bear in *London* and other places, I raſhly ſaid, rather than fail of *Briſtol* we will undertake it at Noon-Day with an Hundred Men: to which *Romzey* ſaid I was a bold fellow; they then promiſed (when they were ſure of the Men) to adviſe and take care for ſome Arms for us at *Briſtol*, and that we ſhould have ſome Great Perſon come down to Head us; but I heard no more till the news of the Diſcovery came in publick Letters. I remember one time when *Wade* and I was with *Ferguſon*, he told us that the Duke of *Monmouth* was brought to a low Condition, all his Places being taken from him, and his Tenants in *Scotland* (being ſo ſeverely dealt with upon account of their Religion) were not able to pay Rent; ſo that his Eſtate there, which was accounted worth Ten or Twelve Thouſand Pound *per An.* did not yield him the laſt Year Two Thouſand Pound, that he was not well pleaſed with the management of Affairs, and deſired Mr. *Wade* to Appoint a place where he would meet the Lord *Gerrard*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, to diſcourſe them; to which Mr. *Wade* replyed, he would meet none of them, for ſuch Great Men

Men had betrayed the Nation already, and enſnar'd too many Thouſands to no purpoſe.

How it was to have been acted in Briſtol.

We concluded that the only way to ſecure *Briſtol* would be by a ſurprize, which with about 350 Men (150 of which we depended on from *Taunton*, the other 200 to be raiſed in and about the City) might eaſily be done about 4 of the Clock in the Morning, as ſoon as the watch were gone off, without the Bloodſhed of one Man, thus, dividing the City into fourteen parts, ſo making thirteen Poſts beſides the main Guard, which ſhould at firſt have been at the *Toulſey* (which is in *Briſtol* as the Exchange here) we ſuppoſed 20 Men might be ſufficient for each Poſt, and the remainder for the main Guard, out of which might be ſpared 4 or 6 Files to be conſtantly marching about, and to aſſiſt where there might be occaſion. The method we deſigned for the raiſing 200 Men in and about the City was thus, firſt to find out 30 Men, 2 for each Poſt, and 4 for the main Guard, who might be able each of them to procure 6 and to command them, which would have made 14 for each Poſt, and 28 for the main Guard, to whom the *Taunton* Men ſhould be added, (*viz.*) 6 to each Poſt, and the remainder to the main Guard, who ſhould have come in the Day before, ſome at every entrance of the City, and lodge themſelves at Inns and Ale-Houſes as near the Poſts they were appointed for as they could: Each Man being to know his Poſt and Commanders before they came; the *Briſtol* Men to Lodge themſelves and Arms, with Arms for the *Taunton* Men, in an Houſe as near as poſſible to their Poſts, and to ſend one out from each Poſt, between Three and Four of the Clock in the Morning to obſerve the motion of the Watch, and to adviſe as ſoon as they were gone off, that they might all immediately repair to their reſpective Poſts, calling the *Taunton* Men; and as ſoon as they had gained their Poſts, to ſend out a File of muſquetiers to fetch in ſuch and ſuch men in each of their Diviſions as they ſhould have had an account of before, and convey them to the main Guard, which in the fourteen Diviſions would have been about Sixty Perſons, Commiſſion-Officers and others; then to fetch in all the Arms and Ammunition they could find, which two things being done (as we ſuppoſed might be in a little time, and without any oppoſition, the Poſts being ſo near each other, that it would have been impoſſible for any Number to get together) we reſolved next to declare the reaſons for our taking up Arms, and to encourage all to come in to us that we could truſt, not doubting but we ſhould ſoon have had many Thouſands in the City, and out of the adjacent Counties, *Gloceſter*, *Somerſet* and *Wilts*.

The Reaſon why I did not come in, &c.

When the News of the Diſcovery firſt came to *Briſtol*, and ſome time before, I was in ſome trouble by my Creditors, and forc'd to abſcond tho' thought I had ſufficient to pay them, only deſired time to get in my effects, their Mercy I feared more than your Majeſties, and thought if I ſhould come in and find mercy with your Majeſty, I could at firſt expect no better than a Priſon, and if from it diſcharged

by

by your Majesty, to be kept in by them upon account of my Debts. Secondly, hearing there was very many (in and about *Bristol*) supposed to be concerned, and I (tho' knowing so much) being able to prove so little against any Man, but such against whom there was sufficient proof without me, feared that if I should come in more would be expected from me than I could prove, and so might fail of Mercy, it having been our resolution not to discover the Design to any of our Friends till the Managers had agreed both upon time and method, therefore considered how to make my escape, there being then a strict search in all Ports, thought best to continue in *England* for some time, till the heat might be over, and so got an ordinary habit and a little Horse about 40 Shillings Price, and travell'd the Country as a Man dealing in Wool, in *Glocester-shire*, *Oxford-shire* and *Somerset-shire*, till about the middle of *August*, then repaired towards *Bristol*, and by Letter with my Wifes Assistance (all other Friends thereabout fearing to act for me) prevailed with a Poor Man who had a small Boat about Ten Tuns, for Twenty Pounds reward and the like *per* Month, for six Months, to go with me for *France*, and from thence to the *West-Indies* or where I would, my Name being then in no Proclamation or Declaration, if it had I should not have prevailed with the Man to go with me. So the Twenty third of *August* Sailed from *Kings-Road* for *Rochell*, the 25th. proving bad whether, crackt our Mast, and so put into St. *Ives* in *Cornwall*, where we stayed till the fourth of *September*, then put out again for *Rochell*, but meeting with contrary Winds was forced into several places in *France*, and gained not our Port till the Seventeenth. In *Rochell* I loaded her with Brandy and other Goods, and the fourth of *October* Sailed from thence for the *West-Indies* (being willing to know how my Concerns lay there, that my Creditors might have their own, tho' I knew I might be much safer in *France*) and arrived at *Barbadoes* the eleventh of *November*, there I heard of my Name being in the Gazette, therefore stayed but two Days landing part of my Cargo, from thence I went to *Antigua*, where I landed and disposed of the remaining part, staying there about ten Days; but it being too soon for the Crop, and my charge being the same lying still or going farther, also thinking it not safe to lie long there, resolved to see the rest of the *Caribby-Islands*, and so went down to *Mounserat*, *Nevis*, S. *Christophers*, S. *Estatia* and *Anguilla*, and so back again to S. *Christophers*, supposing that to be the safest place, I being known to none there, where I stayed about three Weeks. About the fourteenth of *January* I wrote to my Factor in *Nevis* about what was due to me, who on receit of my Letter discover'd me, so that Sir *William Stapleton* presently sent his Warrant to St. *Christophers* to Apprehend me, but before it came I was gone down to St. *Estatia*, expecting to meet my Vessel there, which I had sent up to *Barbadoes*, and it being known where I was gone, the Deputy-Governor of St. *Christophers* sent five Men with his Warrant after me, to whom on sight thereof I submitted, tho' had an Opportunity and might have escaped, but was rather willing to cast my self at His Majesties Feet for Mercy, than live such a Life any longer, not daring to appear where there was need of me (among my Factors) who I doubt will take too much Advantage by my Troubles for my Creditors Interest. In *Nevis* I was kept a Prisoner 13 Days, where I promised Sir *William Stapleton* that I would make what Discovery I could, giving

him the Names of ſome who I had acquainted with it in *Briſtol*, which I ſuppoſe he hath given an Account of deſiring him that it might be kept private, for if it was known they would have Advice of it; but it was not kept ſo private as I expected, for the Night I came off I was told of it, therefore ſuppoſe they were advis'd by a *Briſtol* Ship that came away before us, by which I wrote not a word, I ſuppoſe ſhe might be at home long before us, we being nine Weeks and five Days. All that I can ſay againſt any of them, except *William Wade* who is before-mention'd, is That I Acquainted them with the buſineſs, as I believe many Thouſands in *England* were, and do ſuppoſe they would have been concern'd. Hereunder is an Account of many other Perſons that I have heard were concerned in the Deſign for an Inſurrection, which is all that I can call to mind of any thing material that ever I heard concerning the Plot.

A Paper found in Mr. Charleton's *Custody.*

Worthy Sir,

THe particulars underwritten, are a brief Account of what Service was done since *May* the 15th. 1680. during which time Six Pound *per annum* hath been paid for Rooms, most what for that Service, besides Wages to two Servants amounting to upwards of Ten Pounds, which is not at all charged to the Account. And all Earn'd and Charged on that Account is but 56 *l.* 10 *s.* for Paper and Print, *viz.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Black Box, First Impression Paper and Print Number 1500.	05	00	00
Second Impression with Alterations Number 1500.	05	00	00
The Answer to the Declaration Three Sheets, Number 3000. Paper and Print	18	00	00
The two Conferences, Five Sheets, Number 2500. Paper and Print.	25	00	00
Reasons for the Indictment of the D. of Y. Number 1000. Paper and Print	02	10	00
For Bags, Boxes and Portridge	01	00	00
Sum is	56	10	00
Whereof Received	33	00	00
Remains	23	10	00

Besides all the large promises when engaged in that Service, *viz.* to be the Parliament Printer (and when the Parliament sat, had not one Sheet to do of all the vast Numbers done for them.) Also 100 *l.* *per annum* and Reimbursment for an Engine made on purpose for the Service, which cost 15 *l.* A Former that cost 16 *l.* being rotted in the former Publick Service.

Towards all which, Eight Guineas were received of Mr. *Ferguson* said to be his own Gift. This is a Brief Account of what past under Mr. *Ferguson*'s Order, which shall be faithfully made appear to his Face if he dare stand the Test. By Sir, your most humble Servant.

Captain

Captain *Walcot's* Letter, To the Right Honourable Sir *Leoline Jenkins.*

Honoured Sir,

I *Being in the Country, and to my great trouble ſeeing my ſelf in his Majeſties Proclamation, I came laſt Night to Town, reſolving to lay my ſelf at his Majeſties Feet, let him do with me what he pleaſeth; This is the firſt Crime I have been Guilty of, ſince His Majeſtie's Reſtauration, and too ſoon by much now: If his Majeſty thinks my Death will do him more good than my Life, God's Will and His be done. Untill I ſent your Honour this Letter, my Life was in my own Power but now it is in the Kings; to whom I do moſt humbly propoſe, That if his Majeſty deſires it, I will Diſcover to him all that I know relating to* England, Scotland, *or* Ireland; *which I ſuppoſe may be ſomething more than the Original Diſcoverer was able to acquaint His Majeſty with; eſpecially as to* Ireland: *There is not any thing his Majeſty ſhall think fit to ask me, but I will anſwer him the Truth, as pertinently and as fully as I can. My intimacy with a* Scotch *Miniſter, through whoſe Hands much of the Buſineſs went, I judge occaſioned my knowing very much: And I do further humbly propoſe, That if His Majeſty thinks it adviſable, I will follow thoſe Lords and Gentlemen that are fled into* Holland, *as if I fled thither, and had made my Eſcape alſo, and will acquaint the King, if I can find it out, what Meaſures they reſolve of taking next: I do aſſure his Majeſty, the buſineſs is laid very broad, or I am miſinformed. And I am ſure as to that particular, if my being with his Majeſty, and your Honour, be not Diſcovered, I ſhall be ten times abler to ſerve him, than either* Mr. Freeman, *or* Mr. Carr; *for they will truſt neither of them. There's ſcarce any thing done at Court, but is immediately talk'd all the Town over; therefore if his Majeſty thinks what I have preſumed to propoſe Adviſable, I do then further moſt humbly Propoſe, That my waiting upon his Majeſty may be ſome time within Night, that your Honour will acquaint me the Time and Place where I may wait upon you, in order to it; and that it may be within Night alſo, and that no body may be by, but his Majeſty, and your Honour; And if his Majeſty pleaſeth to Pardon my Offences for the time paſt, he ſhall find I will approve my ſelf very Loyal for the future; if not, I reſolve to give his Majeſty no further trouble, but to lie at his Mercy, let him do with me what he pleaſeth. I purpoſe to ſpend much of this Day in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *at leaſt from Two of the Clock to Four. I beg your Pardon I ſend your Honour this by a Porter: I aſſure your Honour, it was for no other reaſon, but becauſe I would not have a Third Perſon Privy to it; And that I might have the better opportunity to make good my Word to his Majeſty, and to approve my ſelf.*

Your Honours moſt humble Servant,

THO. WALCOT.

Minutes

Minutes of Walcots *Confeſſion before His Majeſty the* 8th *of* July 1683.

THe firſt Buſineſs was ſpoken of in a place and at a time he does not now remember.

But it was agreed that Lord *Shaftsbury* ſhould have the Command in *London*.

Lord *Ruſſel* in *Devonſhire*.

Lord *Brandon* in *Cheſhire*.

Duke of *Monmouth* in *Taunton* and *Briſtol*.

This agreement did not hold long; Some coming to Town that ſaid the Countries were not ready.

The laſt buſineſs was ſpoke of about a fortnight before *Aſh-Wedneſday* laſt: Captain *Walcot* had no Conference about it with any Lord but with the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*.

Ferguſon did oblige Captain *Walcot* to bring him and the Lord *Howard* together: The Lord *Howard* and *Ferguſon* diſcourſed together of the ways and means to ſurprize the *Tower*.

Lord *Shaftsbury* told him that the City was divided into twenty parts, and that there was to be a Chief to every part and he was to chooſe fifteen Men to aſſiſt him within his Diviſion.

Lord *Shaftsbury* told the Duke of *Monmouth* that the King was to be depoſed.

Rumbald was Lieutenant of Horſe in *Fairfax*'s Army. *Walcot* ſerved in the ſame Army.

Richard Goodenough ſaid the Duke of *Monmouth* expected ſix thouſand Men together in *London*.

Lord *Ruſſel* and Lord *Gray* were to Mortgage Lands for the Raiſing of ten thouſand pounds.

Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* was concerned in the Grand Conſultation.

Captain *Walcot* always oppoſed the Aſſaſſination: He will leave 800 *l.* a year behind him.

Ferguſon told *Walcot* about a quarter of a year ago that the Earl of *Eſſex* was in this Affair.

A Note taken from Walcot, *by Captain* Richardſon *Keeper of* Newgate, *July the* 11*th.* 1683.

IF Colonel *Romzey* be to be ſpoke with I would have you ſpeak with him to be tender of me, that will do him no hurt, he hath room enough to ſerve the King upon others, and if Mrs. *Weſt*, would do the like to her Husband, her Children——

On the other ſide,

Run no hazard nor ſpeak with him before any Body, if you cannot be private leave the Iſſue to God.

Two Letters from the Mayor of New-Castle, *Dated* June *the 1st.* 1683. *To Mr. Secretary* Jenkins, *about* Pringle, *&c.*

Right Honourable, *New-Castle June* the 1st. 1683.

WE *presume to acquaint your Honour there are two persons Apprehended and Committed to his Majesties Goal here, with whom there are found divers Seditious Papers and Letters, they were for going beyond Seas, the one of them goes by the Name of* Alexander Pringle, *the other* Edward Levitson, *when their Papers and Writings were seized on they attempted to destroy and convey the same, but were prevented: We have sent by Express the Writings so seized on to his Grace the Duke of* New-Castle *our Lord Lieutenant, to forward the same with this Letter to your Honour. What Commands we receive from your Honour shall be obeyed by,* &c.

Right Honourable, *New-Castle June* the 13th. 1683.

WE *Received your Honours Letter of the* 5th. *Instant, do acknowledge your favour and kindness therein, we have and shall make it our chief Care and Study to Apprehend all such Offenders and do our utmost Endeavours on all occasions for his Majesties Interest and Service, we are satisfied one of these persons is* Alexander Gordon *of* Earlestone *though now called* Pringle, *both these Prisoners were delivered Yesterday to Colonel* Strother *to be safely Conveyed into* Scotland, *according to his Majesties Commands. We are,*&c.

A Letter to Mr. Alexander Pringle, *seized at* New-Castle.

SIR, *London, March* the 20th. 1683.

ON Saturday *last I had the occasion of seeing a Letter from you directed for Mrs.* Gaunt, *in whose absence Mrs.* Ward *had received it, at the Reading of which I was not a little troubled, considering my full resolutions signified to you in my last, for effectuating of which I had spoke for passage and taken my farewel of Mother* Gaunt *she going into the Country; And that very Week I was so set upon by the Gentleman with whom I stay and* Jo. Johnston *with some others, to stay but a month, and if that did not accomplish somewhat in hand to help* Trading, *then I should be no longer deteined. After I was prevailed to retract so far I Ordered* Jo. *who had time at Command to give you an ample account of matters: And withal* Jo. *was desired by our* Friends from Scotland *to stand here in my place: The like Engagements of Secresie,* &c. *being taken, and thereupon I ordered him to shew you the grounds of my staying, and to desire if you inclined to cross the Water to come this way. But since many are the confused yea troubled Thoughts that have possessed me for Yielding: Concerning which as also my yielding to it, take the subsequent account. In my last, or it precedent to it, I shewed you that* Trading *was very low here and many breaking, which hath made the* Merchants, *such as they are, to think that* desperate Diseases must have desperate Cures. *And while that they have some*

ſome ſtock it will be better to venture out than to keep Shop and ſit ſtill till all be gone and then they ſhall not be able to act but let all go, which Reſolution I thought a thing not to confide in ſeeing the moſt of them are Fire-ſide Merchants, *and love not to venture where ſtorms are any thing apparent. But about my departing they ſhewed the Model of Affairs in ſuch order that I ſee* venture they muſt and venture they will, *whereupon I demanded how our Trade would be carried on.* Anſwer, *They knew well what goods had proven moſt prejudicial to their Trade and therefore they thought beſt to inſiſt upon Negatives. In which whatever I propoſed is aſſented to, as* I *find, and this they thought beſt to ſtill* ſome Criticks in the Trade *and by this means to endeavour* the diſpatching the old rotten Stuff *before they order what to bring home next, this looks ſomewhat ſtrange to me, but when I conſider all circumſtances I think they for themſelves do beſt in it, for our Merchants I made account only to have had ſome ſtock for to ſet the broken ones up again and ſo bid them here farewel and they to try their way and we ours ſince they think fit that ſome of thoſe whom we have found (as you will ſay when you hear them named) treacherous dealers in our Trade conſulted and accordingly have done, whereupon I fear or rather hope that our Merchants though broke will rather deſire to live a while longer as they are, than joyn with ſuch, and to advance their Trade unleſs ſurer grounds of their fidelity be gotten than is or can be expected. And this is the bottom of all my ſorrow. But to proceed I find (if all hold that is intended) that they think it is almoſt at a point to ſet forward if they had their* Factors *home who are gone to try how the Country will like ſuch Goods as they are for or againſt the making ſail of.* Friends *I mean* Merchants *wrote to me that after I had ſpoken to you poſſibly you might come this way the better thereby to adviſe them what to do in this caſe for I have ſignified ſomewhat of it to them but not ſo far as this; becauſe I thought to have ſeen you long ere this time but I hope you will not miſconſtruct of my ſtaying, ſeeing in it I deſigned nothing but* advancement of our Trade. *But once this week thoſe Factors ſent for will be here, and then matters will* ('in inſtanti) *either off or on, break or go through: Wherefore in reference to* friends *I deſire you will adviſe me what to do if you cannot or think it not convenient to come here, if you do let a Letter precede, and* if any ſtrange thing fall out this week or the next, *I will again Poſt it towards you. I think when this and the next week is gone (and no news come from you) that I ſhall ſet forward being ſtill ſo ready as that in twelve hours I can bid Adieu.*

The Whiggs are very low as well in City as Suburbs all Meetings being every Sunday *beſet with Conſtables to keep them out, and what they get is ſtolen either evening or morning. This Winter moſt of the great Bankers and Goldſmiths in* Lombard-ſtreet *are broke and gone. The* Bantam *Factory in the* Indies *is taken by the Dutch. Confuſion confuſion in Town and Country, ſuch as you never ſaw. Mrs.* Ward *and ſeveral others deſire to be remembred to you: My endeared Reſpects to your ſelf and* B. *with the young Men arrived. This I have writ in ſhort and in haſt, expecting a line with as great haſte as you ſee is needful;* for matters are full as high as I tell you. Farewel.

From your Friend and Servant, *Jo. N.*

Be ſure that you direct not for *Bednal-Green*, but for me at Mr. *Meads* in *Stepney* near *London*. Directed on the back thus; To Mr. *Alexander Pringle* to be left at Mr. *Alexander Hope* his Houſe in four *Glaſſ-Hauen*, in *Rotterdam*, Theſe.

The

The Examination of John Nisbet *of* Stepney *taken before* John Tendring *Esq;*

THis Examinant being duely Examined, doth say that he was born in *Northumberland*, that he was bred a Scholar at *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*, that he came from thence to *London*, that he was Usher at Mr. *Waltons* School at *Bednal-green*, that from thence he came to *Mile-end*, and there lived about a year in the House of one Mr. *Matthew Richardson*, and taught his Children. This Examinant saith further, That he came down to *Bradwel* with Mr. *Richardson*, and that being a Scholar he did intend to go beyond-Seas into *Flanders*, and put himself into some Colledge.

This Examinant wholly denyed that he knew Mr. *Richardson* to have any other Name.

Capt. coram me.

Jo. Tendring.

A Copy of Earlestoun's *Commission,*

Omnibus & singulis Religionem vere Reformatam Profitentibus ad quos præsentes pervenient.

QUin, Variæ Augustiæ, *pertristes persecutiones, & opprobria nostræ (hic in Scotia) Ecclesiæ, magna, ad vestras pervenere aures, neutiquam est nobis in dubio: Quum, depressus, & quoad externa, Status devastatus; quo, pro Fide Sanctis traditâ, & nostræ Ecclesiæ privilegiis & jure peculiari contendendo, redacta est, fere omnibus sit notus: Quorum intuitus & consideratio una cum magna, de vestri (in nobis interesse, spe conceptâ) hunc* Dom. Alexandrum Gordon de Earlestoun Legatum *nostrum, vobis omnibus, Reipublicæ Israeliticæ fautoribus, & benevolentibus mittere & demandare non sine multa causa, persuasit; causam, & Statum nostrum malitiose, subtilitate adversariorum vobis representatum, cognoscentes qui, eo ipso ut, nos, & quicquid a nobis actum, vobis reddant ridiculo; in male representando, & Pseudographias actorum nostrorum dispergendo, vigilantissimi sunt: Quasi progressus nostri & principia* Verbo Dei (*supremo controversiarum judici*) *& vere Protestantismo, essent contraria:* Quum *nos, nec quicquid tenere, nec tenere cupere, Verbo Dei scripto,*

& antiquis, civilis, & Ecclesiastici Status legibus; & pristinæ reformationi contrarium, declaramus, sed cum omnia in eo fundentur, potius (Deo dante) actiones nostras ei reddere conformes cupimus. Quapropter nos Protestantes, Antieraſtiani, Antiprelatici, & Tirannide agitati, *in Scotia Presbiteriani, huic nostro legato, concredimus ei plenum consensum & assensum dantes fideliter, & vere, omnes vere Reformatos, ad quos perveniet, informatos reddere; Quod solummodo nos ipsos in viâ* Domini *puros (Dei gratia) quoad possumus servare, intentes sumus & viam majorum, vere Illustrium, in nostra nobili reformatione propaganda in diversis, ejus, a Papismo, Prelatura, & Erastianismo gradibus, & vestigiis incedere cupimus, atque hæc sunt nostrarum persecutionum (pro præsenti) capita, & causa. Ad quorum pleniorem & clariorem notitiam, hujus nostri Legati relationi remittimus; Testimonio cujus, cum sit in rebus nostris, publicis declarationibus &* martyrum Testimoniis, *sat versatus, ejusdem nobiscum judicii, & sub iisdem perpessionibus fidem dare potestis.* Humillime *igitur oramus & obsecramus ut relationi hujus nostri Legati tanquam vere fides a vobis detur, & ut nullius narrationi, vel datæ vel quæ posthac detur, de nobis, principiis, & progressu nostro sicut verbo Dei, votis, juramentis, ei datis, & relationi hujus nostri Legati, contraria cum sit tantum calumnioſe ab adversariis data credatis.* Quocirca, *omnes Zionis fautores oramus; nostrum statum, quo redacti sumus, non parvi facere, sed serio perpendere; Deus enim omnes, ad sympathium vocat, & perpendum est, omnes conjurationes & Adversariorum consultationes, in universam Ecclesiam esse destinatas: Et uno membro patienti totum corpus cum eo compati debet.* Datum Edinburgi *decimo die* Aprilis, *Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo octuagesimo secundo. Et ex nostro mandato subscriptum a Clerico Conventionis nostro sic subscribitur* Jacobus Renwick.

The Examinations of Gordon *late of* Earlestoun *taken before the Committee of Council,* July *the 5th.* 1683.

In presence of the Earls of Linlithgoe, Perth, *Bishop of* Edenburgh *and* Regiſter.

Alexander Gordon of *Earlestoun* being Examined again by Order of the Council upon several Interrogators arising from the Letter sent to him by *Jo. N.* Dated *London, March* the *20th.* 1683.

As to the Secrecy to be taken of the Man that was to stand in *Nisbets* place. That it was an ingagement of Secrecy and some Queries to try if they agreed in Principles.

Being

Being interrogat of the account of Matters written to him by *Jo.* at the desire of *Jo. N.* Declares that it was a Letter under the Metaphor of Marriage, and that by the Marriage he understood a Rising designed there.

Being interrogat what the *Merchants* being low and breaking did mean. *Answers,* That he thinks it means that their people, *viz.* the Dissenters were breaking in their Stocks by Excommunications and other Courses, and therefore they were resolving upon desperate courses; which was Rising in Arms.

Being interrogat what is meant by the said *Merchants.* *Answers,* Some that lived at their ease and quiet would not venture to Rise when they saw much danger.

Being interrogat what is meant by the *Model of Affairs* that would make them venture. *Answers,* That they had shewn to *Jo. N.* a Model how they would go about their affairs in order to their Rising.

Being interrogat anent their Resolution to insist on Negatives, and what were the Goods that proved prejudicial to them formerly. *Answers,* That the meaning was, they resolved to agree in what they would put down, which he thinks was the whole Government, Civil and Ecclesiastick, but that they would not determine positively what they would set up.

Being interrogat what was it that *Jo. N.* proposed to them that they assented to. *Answers,* He thinks he had stated the grounds of the quarrel Relative to the present Government, and that they had assented to it. But declares that when *Jo. N.* was speaking to him of these things, he thought them of that nature that he shun'd discourse upon them to receive Information concerning them, because he had no mind to meddle with them.

That by *Criticks of the Trade,* is understood the Scotch Fanaticks, because they are nice in associating themselves.

That by the *dispatching of the old rotten Stuff,* he thinks it the dispatching of the Sectaries or the present Government, but rather thinks it was the last.

That by the Broken ones which he was to set up, is meant the Scotch Fanaticks to be helped by Contributions, and that by their trying their way and we ours, was meant the English was for Rising in Arms, but the Scotch Fanaticks were for delaying some time.

That by these called Treacherous Dealers, he thinks is meant both the Secretaries and the present Government, who had formerly broke their Government, but never heard these persons named.

That they being at a point to set forward, is meant their being ready for Rendevous.

That by Emissaries is meant persons sent out both in *Scotland* and *England* from *London* to try the Peoples inclination to a Rising and to incite them to it, and that these Merchants who advised *Jo. N.* to send for the Declarant to come that way were the Meetings of the Fanaticks in *Scotland.*

That by *Advancing of the Trade* he thinks is meant the Carrying on of the Rising.

By that part of the Letter which tells that when the Factors would return that matters would *in instanti* be off or on, That the

meaning

meaning was that when these Factors came in they expected Money for buying of Arms and then they would instantly have Risen, but that the Money was not come in at that time when he did meet with *Jo. N.*

That by the strange thing that might have fallen out in a week or two, he understands no other thing than the Insurrection intended.

Declares that this *Jo. N.* was a person that past under the name of *John Nisbet*, an Englishman, and stayed at one Mr. *Mead*'s in *Stepney*, which *Nisbet* was an Usher of a School at *Bednal-green* before.

That the close of the Letter bearing that things were fully as high as I tell you, is meant the present intended Rebellion.

That by the Capital Letter *B.* is meant one Mr. *Brake* a Minister in *Lewarden* in *Friesland*, and the young men are some Students who are in *Holland.*

Being interrogat what he heard of the Earl of *Argile*'s concurring or assisting in this Insurrection. *Answers*, That he heard by report in *Holland*, that *Argile* had undertaken to Raise ten thousand Men to assist in that Rebellion, and that he was to furnish himself with Arms in *Holland*, and about the time of this report which he thinks was in *December* or *January* last, he heard *Argile* was in *Holland* but that he did not see him, and to the best of his memory *Jo. N.* also told him of the Earl of *Argiles* concurring in the Rising, but remembers of no other person.

Being interrogat upon the little Letter from *Stepney* which he thinks was about the beginning of *May*, Dated *Friday* at seven a Clock, That the Man whom he speaks of, is Mr. *Mead* a Minister, and that by the words what my Hands find to do was meant *Jo. N*'s. going to *Holland* and that the Declarant was to meet with Mr. *Mead* to let *Jo. N.* go.

Further declares that *John Johnston* was one, who at other times past under the name of *Murray*, who is a little Man Pock-marked, and wears a Periwig. *Sic subscribitur.*

A Gordon, Linlithgow, Perth, Jo. Edinburgen. Geo. Meckenzy, J. Drummond.

This is a true Copy of the Original Declaration and Answer made by *Alexander Gordon*, late of *Earlestoun* to the Interrogators proposed to him by the Committee of Council, which is attested by me

William Paterson

Cls. Sti. Concilij.

The

A Copy of Alexander Gordons *Examination*, June 30. 1683.

THe ſaid *Alexander* being interrogate what he knew of the Author of that Letter directed to *Alexander Pringle* of the date 20 of *March* laſt, to be left at *Alexander Hopes* Houſe in *Gloſs-haven, Rotterdam,* which runs upon the Metaphor of Trade, anſwereth, That the Author of that Letter ſeemeth to him to be one *Jo. Nisbet*, with whom he converſed a year ago at *London*, and ordered the ſaid *Alexander* to direct his Letters to *Bednal-Green*, and ſince to Mr. *Mead* in *Stepney* near *London*; and that he the ſaid *Alexander* had written a Letter to this *Jo. Nisbet*, challenging him why he came not ſooner over to *Holland* as he had promiſed, dated about *January* laſt; and that he received this Letter by the Metaphor of Trade in anſwer thereunto; and that the *venturing* ſpoke of in the Letter was to ſignifie a reſolution of a ſpeedy Riſing in Arms; and that the *Factors* therein mentioned, ſignified their Agents and Emiſſaries who were ſent out into different corners both in *England* and *Scotland*, to know the Pulſe of their Complices and Parties if they were in readineſs to joyn and riſe with them, and that they brought back accounts of their willingneſs ſo to do, and readineſs for an Inſurrection. And as to the aſſiſtance they were to have from *Scotland*, he underſtood it at his laſt coming here, and ſome Months before he came over in *May* laſt, he heard amongſt the Dutch People commonly reported that there was to be very ſhortly a Riſing in *England*, and that the Earl of *Argile* was to furniſh from *Scotland* Ten Thouſand Highland-Men for their aſſiſtance; and that at his coming hither laſt he heard that there was a Perſon come from *England* to Sir *Jo. Cockram*, alleadging he came about the Affair of *Carolina*, but that he had diſcovered himſelf to a Servant of the Lord Treaſurers that he had come to *Scotland* upon other matters, and that the Letters for *Scotland* from any Correſpondents of the Party in which *Earleſtoun* was engaged was directed to Mr. *Henry Emertſon* written in *Edenburgh*; and that before he came laſt hither in *May*, the meeting of theſe Phanatical People had received a Letter from *England* ſubſcribed by one *J. S.* whom he takes to be one *Murray* as he named himſelf to *Earleſtoun* (as the other forementioned perſon named himſelf *Jo. Nisbet*) in which Letter there was the Metaphor of a Marriage anent which all things were agreed and the Marriage ready to be ſolemnized which occaſioned their ſending for him the ſaid *Alexander Gordon* to have his mind concerning that Affair; and they interpreting that Letter ſigned by *J. S.* from *England* to concern the ſeeking of their aſſiſtance in their intended Riſing there, he did diſſwade them from it: and that by the Marriage they underſtood a Riſing to be intended in *England*; and that it was ready to be ſolemnized was to ſignifie that an Inſurrection was to be very ſpeedily on foot; and declared that theſe with whom *Earleſtoun* con-

verſed here declared that they believed that the Perſons who came from *England* to Sir *Jo. Cokram* were ſent to manage a Correſpondence in order to the deſign of Riſing in Arms.

The Relation of Alexander Gordon *of* Earlſtoun *of what he was informed of, and heard as followeth.*

ABout the time of the Election of *Rich* and *North*, I heard that there were ſome deſigns of Riſing in Arms of ſome people in *England*, and in order thereto there was ſome Treating with my Lord *Argile*, but not agreeing to the terms my Lord left them, and I heard it ceaſed for ſome time and went over to *Holland*; and when he was there, I was informed of the renewing of the Treaty, and agreed upon the following terms, *viz.*

That the Earl of *Argile* ſhould raiſe Seven Thouſand Men, and the Treators (who as I was informed were Engliſh-men) were to advance the ſaid Earl Ten Thouſand pound Sterling; and this was agreed to in *April* laſt.

The perſons in *England* were by Information the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; but after the ſaid Earls deceaſe I did not hear ſo much of the Duke of *Monmouth*. I was alſo informed of *Ford* Lord *Gray* of *Wark* his being in the Deſign.

I was alſo informed that thoſe concerned in *Scotland* moſt in the ſaid Deſign, were Sir *John Cockram*, *Jerviſwood*, *Seſſnock* Elder and Younger, and that Sir *John Cockram* the one day kiſt His Majeſties Hands, the other day went to the Cabal anent the above-written Deſign.

I was alſo informed, That no ſmall number of the Gentlemen in the Weſt and other places in *Scotland* upon their reſentment of the preſent Government, particularly as to the Teſt and other Papers put to them, were not reſolved to ſtand to them although they ſhould take them, but riſe upon the firſt occaſion.

This Information I heard from *Murray* alias *Johnſtoune*, who as I heard was a Weſt Country-man in *Scotland*, who offered to take me along to their Cabals, but upon my refuſal to meddle in the deſigns kept himſelf and told no more than thoſe generals.

I met

I met with *Mead* at one Mr. *Cooks* a Merchant living near the *Exchange* in *Auſtin-Fryers* in *London*, but I do not mind what he ſpoke of the aforeſaid Deſign to me, but thinks not, for I was a ſtranger to him, and not acquainted before that time; and this I ſubſcribe before theſe Witneſſes Sir *William Hamilton* of *Preſtoun*, Maſter *John Vans* Keeper of the *Tolbooth* of *Edinburgh*.

A Copy of the Interrogators propoſed to Alexander Gordon *ſometime of* Earlſtoun *in the Committee,* 25th *of* September, 1683.

TO Interrogate the ſaid *Alexander Gordon* what Correſpondence he did hold with the pretended General Convention from whom he had his Commiſſion. And if he did not write a Letter to, and hold correſpondence with them, before he came laſt to *Scotland*, and upon what account he did write that Letter to the ſaid Convention which is mentioned in one Letter to him from one *Michael Sheills*, bearing that the Convention had received his Letter, *&c.* And if to his knowledge the ſaid pretended Convention General did not hold any exact Correſpondence and Intelligence with the diſaffected Party and other their Adherents both in *England* and in the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, and what the ſaid Correſpondence was and if it was not to the weakning and diminiſhing if not to the ruining and overturning of His Majeſties Government both in Church and State as it is now Eſtabliſhed within His Majeſties Dominions.

2. Upon what account was he moved to accept of the ſaid Commiſſion and what other Inſtructions he had from the ſaid pretended Convention General in order to the Methods he was to take for inviting the aſſiſtance and ſupply of the Forreign States and Churches unto which he was Commiſſionate and if he had not Inſtructions for imploring their Aid by Supply of Money and other Neceſſaries for fitting and capacitating the diſtreſſed Party in *Scotland* to ſubvert and overturn, at leaſt to reſiſt His Majeſties Government in this Kingdom.

3. Who were the Perſons who did ſit and aſſiſt in the ſaid Convention General when his Commiſſion was ordered, and who did preſide thereat. And that he would declare ſuch of the Members of the ſaid Convention as he either knew or heard of by their proper Names and Sir-Names and place of their Reſidence and from whom he received the foreſaid Commiſſion, and who were preſent at the delivery of the ſame to him, and what a perſon Mr. *James Renvicle* is who ſubſcribes as Clerk to the ſaid Commiſſion, and if that was his own true or only a borrowed Name; And if the ſame was borrowed that he would declare what his true Name is, and where his place of Reſidence was, and if he knows what is become of him ſince, or where he now is, and to interrogate him after the ſame manner in relation to *Michael Sheills*.

4. If the ſaid General Convention was not compoſed of Perſons ſent from particular Diſtricts within this Kingdom and how many

ſuch

ſuch Diſtricts there were and who were the leading Perſons within theſe particular Diſtricts and what ſort of Perſons they were who were Commiſſionate from theſe reſerved Diſtricts to the pretended General Convention. And what farther he knows in Relation to the Government and management of Affairs within theſe particular Diſtricts.

5. To interrogate the ſaid *Alexander Gordon* what Perſons he knew either in *Scotland, England, Ireland,* or in the United Provinces of the *Neatherlands* that did hold Correſpondence with the ſaid pretended Convention General in order to their acting and conſulting of their Affairs or concerting of meaſures and Methods to be taken in the Proſecution of their purpoſes and deſigns, *&c.*

Interrogators to be put to the ſaid Alexander Gordon *in Relation to the late Horrid Conſpiracy.*

IMprimis, That the ſaid *Alexander Gordon* would ingenuouſly declare the true and Genuine meaning and ſenſe of that Letter written to him by *Jo. N.* from *London* and would give a full and ſatisfactory Account thereof to the Lords of the Committee ſuch as may ſatisfie rational and knowing Men conform to the meaning of the Writer, who was his Correſpondent, and who would never have writ to him in Riddles and Myſteries, ſeeing by the Letter it appears that he was informing *Alexander Gordon* with the State of their Affairs and with the meaſures and reſolutions they had already taken. And therefore to interrogate him who this Correſpondent was who ſubſcribes *Jo. N.* and where he reſided and what was his Trade and Occupation and with whom elſe he the ſaid *Alexander* did know him to keep Correſpondence, and how he became to be acquainted with him, and of that way and manner of writing under the Metaphor of Trade and Commerce, *&c.* Had not been conceived and agreed to betwixt the ſaid *Alexander* and the ſaid *Jo. N.* and their party before thereby to vail and diſguiſe their Rebellious contrivances and who were preſent at the contriving of ſuch a Metaphorical way of Writing beſides the ſaid *Alexander* and *Jo. N.* and if theſe and the like Methods were not a common Rule and Practiſe of theſe Barbarous and execrable Conſpirators for diſguiſing of their Horrid and Bloody Deſigns againſt the Perſon of His Sacred Majeſty and Royal Brother and for riſing in Arms againſt his Majeſty and his Government.

2. What he knows in relation to the ſaid Horrid Conſpiracy againſt His Majeſties Perſon and the Perſon of his Royal Brother or of riſing in Arms againſt His Majeſty and Government and who were

 acceſſory

accessory to the said Horrid Designs either in *Scotland, England, Ireland,* or any where abroad, whither in the United Provinces of the *Netherlands* or else where, and that he would give an account of them in so far as he knows by their Names Sir-Names and Places of residence and such other designs as he knew them by, and likeways that he would give an account of the particular designs methods and contrivances treated upon and concerted for the rising in Arms against the King and Government either in *Scotland, England* or *Ireland,* and by what Persons the said Treaties and Designs were carried on as to all which he would give a particular and distinct account to the Lords of the Committee.

3. To interrogate him anent the other Letter Written to him under the Name of Mr. *Pringle,* and what was the true meaning thereof and by whom the same was written, and if the Trade therein specified do not relate to the condition of the Fanatick and disaffected Party, and what other import the said Letter does bear and from what place of the world the same came.

A Copy of the Examination of Alexander Gordon *late of* Earlſtoun.

Edinburgh, 25th *of* September, 1683.

The Earl of *Linlithgow.*
Lord *Livingſton.*
Lord Preſident of Seſſion.
Lord *Colintoun.*
Lord *Caſtlehil.*

JUSTICES,

The Lord *Pitmedden.*
The Lord *Harcarſs.*

The Earl of *Linlithgow* Elected Preſident.

TO the firſt Interrogator anſwers, That the firſt time he met with that pretended Convention was near the Inner-Kirk of *Kyle* in the Fields about two years ago; and there were about Fourſcore perſons or thereby; and that he was brought there from his own Houſe by one *Jo. Nisbet*, whom the Declarant knows not further than that he is a Weſt-Country-man about *Glaſgow*; and that *Jo. Niſbet* is another *Jo. Nisbet* that wrote a Letter to him to *Holland* under the notion of Trade, relating to the Riſing and Rebellion in *England.* And farther, That about a year and half ago he met with another Convention conſiſting of fourſcore perſons or thereby in the Fields within five miles of the former place near *Inner-Kirk,* and that very few of them had Swords; to which Meeting he was advertiſed to come by a Letter ſent to his Houſe ſubſcribed by Mr. *James Kennick* who is Clerk to the Convention and heard of no Miniſters being amongſt them at either of theſe times and ſays there were people there from all the Diſtricts in the ſeveral Shires of the Kingdom: which Diſtricts he was informed were fourſcore; and that he knew none of the perſons in either of theſe Meetings except Mr. *James Kennick* the Clerk, the ſaid *Jo. Nisbet* who came from a Diſtrict beſides *Glaſgow*, and *William* and *James Stewarts* who came out of *Galloway* and *Robert Speir* who came from the *Lothians*, and one *Forreſt* who came from the Upperward of *Cluyd* and that at theſe general meetings they produced their Commiſſions from the ſeveral

ſeveral Diſtricts to the Clerk that it might appear that they were commiſſionate to get relief for the diſtreſt in their bounds, that the buſineſs of the Convention was to provide for thoſe amongſt them were in want and for their own ſecurity againſt the dangers they were in, being denounced Fugitives from the Laws, and in hazard to be catcht by the Governours; and that he heard nothing treated or ſpoke amongſt them as to riſing in Arms, nor knows of any Correſpondence theſe of the Convention had with any in *Ireland*; and as to *England* he ſuppoſes there was a Correſpondence there, but knows not theſe that managed it, except the ſaid *Jo. Nisbet*, he having ſhewn the Declarant a Letter he had from *Michael Sheills* one of the Clerks of the Convention, which he ſaw in the end of *March* or beginning of *April* laſt.

To the ſecond Interrogator, the reaſon why he accepted of the Commiſſion produced, declares, He accepted it upon the account to ſee if there could be a way found for the diſtreſt Brethren to go abroad, or to have ſomething from abroad to maintain them there.

To the third Interrogator declares, He remembers no more perſons were preſent but theſe condeſcended upon in the firſt Interrogator, which he ſays was occaſioned by his being ſo long abroad; and although upon ſeeing their faces he might know ſeveral of them, yet knows not their Names, nor the places of their Reſidence.

To the fourth declares, The ſaid general Conventions were compoſed of perſons ſent from the ſeveral Diſtricts, of which there were as he heard about fourſcore in number, in which fourſcore Diſtricts he was told there would have been ſix or ſeven thouſand men, but knows not of any Gentlemen or leading Men amongſt them. As to the Commiſſion it was ſent him to *Newcaſtle* by a common Receiver whom he knows not, directed to him at his Lodging at the Sign of the Vine in the *Gateſide* in *Newcaſtle*, his Landlords Name being *George Marſhal* a publick Innkeeper, and addreſt to him under the Name of *La Graveil*, being the Name he went by, and that the ſame was under a Cover of *James Kennick* their Clerk who ſubſcribed it.

To the laſt Interrogator repeats his anſwer made to the firſt Interrogator, and knows no further.

Being further interrogate upon the Interrogators given in anent the Conſpiracy in *England*, declares, The the firſt time he heard of any deſign of riſing in Arms was at the time when the Competition was anent the Sheriffs at *Midſummer* was a year, and then he heard the Duke of *Monmouth* was to Head the Rebels; and this he had from *Jo. Nisbet* and one Mr. *Murray* a Scotch-man then at *London*; and declares, That in *January* laſt the Declarant being in *Holland* he heard by general report that the late Earl of *Argile* was to raiſe ſome thouſand Highlanders to aſſiſt the Rebels in *England* by making a diverſion, and was to get a Sum of Money for that effect; and that in *March* laſt he having received a Letter from *Jo. Nisbet* in *Holland*, he came over to *London*, where he met with the ſaid *Nisbet* and *Murray*, who told the Declarant they deſigned to riſe preſently in *England*

and

and to Rendezvous in Six or Seven places at one time particularly at *Coventry* and *London* and that they computed ſeveral Thouſands in *York-ſhire* who were to joyn with them. That *Murray* deſired the Declarant to go along with him to meet with the late Lord *Ruſſel* and *Gray* and the Lord *Wharton* (but of *Wharton* they ſayed they were not very ſure of him being a feared Man) and with Mr. *Ferguſon* and ſpoke of ſeveral old Officers of *Cromwels* that were to be there but the Declarant not being for the preſent Riſing ſhunn'd to meet with theſe perſons or any of them, and both *Nisbet* and *Murray* told the Declarant that Sir *John Cokram* was with them and heard from theſe Two Perſons that both the *Ceſſnocks* were concerned in that buſineſs. As to the Letter written by *Jo. N.* of the 20th of *March*, and directed for the Declarant at *Rotterdam* Declares that *Jo. Nisbet* ſent the ſaid Letter and that under the Metaphor of Trade throughout the whole Letter is meant the deſign of Riſing in Arms and a Rebellion and that by the Words (diſpatching the old rotten Stuff) is meant either the excluding the Sectaries from joyning with them or deſtroying the Government both Civil and Eccleſiaſtick which laſt the Declarant ſuppoſes rather to be the Words and that by the Factors are meant their Emiſſaries for carrying on the Rebellion; and for that ſtrange thing that was to fall out that week as the next the Declarant thinks is meant the ſuddain Muſter of the Rebels. In the cloſe of the Letter which ſays things are full as high as I tell you, is meant that the Rebellion was inſtantly to break out, and having met with *Jo. Nisbet* after his coming from *Holland* the ſaid *Nisbet* explained to him that the ſenſe of the ſaid Letter was as is aboveſaid.

As to a Letter direct to the Declarant under the name of *Pringle* of the 2 *May* 1683, declares, That the Name of the Subſcriber which is blotted out was ſo blotted before it came to his Hand, but by the Contents of it he knows its from one *Rob. Johnſton* a Tenant or Vaſſal to the Lord *Gray* on the Border and that the Traders and Trading there ſpoke of is the deſigned Rebellion and that the ſaid *Robert Johnſton* offered to come to *Scotland* with the Declarant to have ſeen ſome of our diſaffected people here and to have met with them. And that *A. T.* mentioned in the ſaid Letter which the Letter ſays laboured to undervalue the diſaffected party in *Scotland* which he calls your Goods, is the Name of *Andrew Young* who ſtays about *Newcaſtle* whom he ſuppoſes to be a ſuſpect Perſon becauſe he was feared that Colonel *Struthers* would apprehend him. And that he ſuppoſes the way that that Letter came to his Hand was from ſome Perſons that were at a Meeting at Midſummer about that time, where was preſent ſeveral of thoſe People that had Commiſſion from the ſeveral Diſtricts, but that he himſelf was not at that Meeting.

Examination of Mr. Steil *and* Andrew Oliver *anent* Mr. Aaron Smith's *coming to* Scotland, *& his going to Sir* J. Cockram's *Houſe at* Ochiltree. *Edenburgh* 11*th of December*, 1683.

MR. *Thomas Steil* in *Jedwart-Foreſt* declares, that in *February* laſt, an Engliſh Gentleman coming to *Jedwart* being recommended to the Declarant by one *David Sheriff* Stabler in *Newcaſtle*, only that he might direct him to *Ochiltree*, ſpoke only

to him of *Carolina* Buſineſs anent which he was to tranſact with Sir *John Cockram*; and that the Declarant got him one *Andrew Oliver* in *Jedwart-Foreſt* for hire to be his guide to *Douglaſs*, and that the ſaid *Oliver* went with him from that to Sir *John Cockrams* and declares he knew not his name and had no knowledge of him, but that he was called when he was at *Jedwart*, *Clerk*, but afterwards heard he was called *Smith*.

Andrew Oliver in *Barwick* Tenant to the Marqueſs of *Douglaſs* being Examined declares, a little before Seed-time laſt the Declarant met with Mr. *Thomas Steil* at *Linalie* the Marqueſs's Houſe, of purpoſe to bring home his Wife from *Douglas* to *Jedburgh-Foreſt*, and the Declarant being upon his way and coming to Provoſt *Ainſlie*'s Houſe in *Jedburgh*, and there being a Stranger there an Engliſh man ready to take Horſe to go to the Weſt, the ſaid Mr. *Thomas Steil* having told the Deponent there was a Stranger who knew not the way and would be deſirous of his company, and the Deponent having called for the Stranger in the Houſe he and he took Horſe together and rode to *Peebles* that night and the next day came to *Douglas*, and the Stranger upon the way told his Name was *Samuel Clerk*, which he thinks was the next day after they came from *Jedburgh*; and the next day the Stranger not being able to get a Guide, to convey him to *Ochiltree*, at the deſire of Mr. *Thomas Steil*'s Wife did go along with him from *Douglas* to *Ochiltree*, and the Stranger went into the Houſe of *Ochiltree* to call for the Laird; the Deponent not having gone in with him, where he ſtaid about one quarter of an Hour and came back to a Houſe in the Town where the Deponent was to Lodge. That the Deponent heard from the Stranger that his buſineſs with the Laird of *Ochiltree* was concerning *Carolina* buſineſs, and of their deſign to ſend Families there in the Spring to Plant, and that he commended the Country.

And. Oliver. *Jo. Edenburgen.*

Edenburgh, Sederunt *and Journals of Council*, 20 Dec. 1683.

MR. *Thomas Steil* Chamberlain to the Marquis of *Douglas*, being Priſoner as alleadged, Entertaining and Correſponding with *Aaron Smith* when he was in *Scotland*, and providing him a Guide to Sir *John Cokram*'s Houſe of *Ochiltree*, who being Examined with the ſaid Guide and all that appears is, That the ſaid *Aaron Smith*, under the Name of *Clark*, was Recommended by one *David Sheriff*, Inn-keeper and Stabler of *Newcaſtle*, to *Steil*, as being his Acquaintance when he came to *Jedburgh*, to help him to one that ſhould guide him the way being a Stranger, without any ſuſpition or knowledge of his being a perſon guilty of any Crime or evil Deſign. The Lords upon conſideration of the Bill appoint a Letter to be written to the Secretaries to cauſe Examine *Aaron Smith* upon the time of his coming to *Jedburgh*, and what paſt betwixt him and *Steil* and any other Interrogator proper, ſeeing it's ſaid that the ſaid *Aaron Smith* denied he was ever in *Scotland*; and that another Letter be written to the Mayor of *Newcaſtle* to Examine the Inn-keeper; and in the mean time allows *Steil* to be at liberat on Caution to appear when called, under the penalty of 2000 Marks; and that he ſhall not go off the Country without Licence, to prevent any practizing with the Inn-keeper.

Alexander Gordon *of* Earlſton, *his Depoſition before a Committee of His Majeſties Privy-Council, and two of the Juſtices.* Edenburg *the* 25th *of* September, 1683.

Alexander Gordon being further interrogate upon the Interrogators given in anent the Conſpiracy in *England*, declares, That the firſt time he heard of any Deſign of riſing in Arms, was at the time when the competition was anent the Sheriffs at *Midſummer* was a year, and then he heard the Duke of *Monmouth* was to head the Rebels; and this he had from *John Nisbet*, and one Mr. *Murray* a Scotch-man then at *London*, and declares, That in *January* laſt the Declarant being in *Holland*, he heard by general report that the late Earl of *Argile* was to raiſe ſome thouſands of Highlanders to aſſiſt the Rebels in *England* by making a diverſion, and was to get a ſum of money for that effect; and that in *March* laſt he having received a Letter in *Holland* from *John Nisbet* then in *London*, he came over to *London*, where he met with the ſaid *Nisbet* and *Murray*, who told the Declarant, they deſigned to riſe preſently in *England*, and to Rendezvous in ſix or ſeven places at one time, particularly at *Coventry* and *London*, and that they computed ſeveral thouſands in *Yorkſhire* who where to joyn with them; That *Murray* deſired the Declarant to go along with him to meet with the late Lords *Ruſſel* and *Gray*, and the Lord *Wharton*, (but of *Wharton* they ſaid they were not very ſure, being a fearful man) and with Mr. *Ferguſon*, and ſpoke of ſeveral old Officers of *Cromwels* that were to be there, but the Declarant not being for the preſent riſing, ſhunned to meet with theſe perſons, or any of them; and both *Nisbet* and *Murray* told the Declarant, that Sir *John Cochran* was with them, and heard from theſe two perſons, that both the *Ceſſnocks* were concerned in that Buſineſs. As to the Letter written by *Jo. N.* of the 20th of *March*, and directed for the Declarant at *Rotterdam*, declares that *John Nisbet* wrote the ſaid Letter, and that under the Metaphor of Trade throughout the whole Letter, is meaned the deſign of riſing in Arms and a Rebellion; and that by the word *Diſpatching the old rotten ſtuff*, is meaned either the excluding the Sectaries from joyning with them, or deſtroying the Government, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, which laſt the Declarant ſuppoſes rather to be the meaning of the words; and that by the *Factors* are meaned their Emiſſaries for carrying on the Rebellion; *And for that ſtrange thing that was to fall out that Week or the next*, the Declarant thinks is meaned the ſudden muſter of the Rebels; In the cloſe of the Letter which ſays, *Things are full as high as I tell you*, is meaned that the Rebellion was inſtantly to break out; And having met with *John Nisbet* after his coming from *Holland*, the ſaid *Nisbet* explained to him that the Sence of the ſaid Letter was as is above-ſaid.

As to the little Letter directed to the Declarant under the name of *Pringle*, of the ſecond of *May*, 1683, declares that the name of the Subſcriber: which is blotted out, was ſo blotted before it came to his hand;

but by the Contents of it, he knows it is from one *Robert Johnſtoun*, a Tenant or Vaſſal to the Lord *Gray* on the Border; and that the *Traders* and *Trading* there ſpoke of, is the deſigned Rebellion; and that the ſaid *Robert Johnſtoun* offered to come into *Scotland* with the Declarant, to have ſeen ſome of our diſaffected people here, and to have met with them; and that *A. T.* mentioned in the ſaid Letter, which the Letter ſays *laboured to undervalue the diſaffected party in* Scotland, which he calls *your Goods*, is the name of *Andrew Young*, who ſtays about *Newcaſtle*, whom he ſuppoſes to be a ſuſpected perſon, becauſe he was afraid Colonel *Struthers* would apprehend him: And that he ſuppoſes the way that that Letter came to his hand, was from ſome perſon that was at a Meeting at *Tweeds-Moor* about that time, where were preſent ſeveral of theſe people that had Commiſſion from the ſeveral Diſtricts, but he himſelf was not at that Meeting. *Sic ſubſcribitur*

Linlithgow I. P. C.

Alex. Gordon.

Here follows the Letter ſigned *Jo. N.* which was found upon *Earlſton.*

Sir,

ON Saturday *laſt I had the occaſion of ſeeing a Lettter from you, directed for Mrs.* Gaunt, *in whoſe abſence Mrs.* Ward *had received it, at the reading of which I was not a little troubled, conſidering my full reſolutions ſignified to you in my laſt; for effectuating of which I had ſpoke for Paſſage, and taken my farewel of Mother* Gaunt, *ſhe going into the Country: And that very Week I was ſet upon by that Gentleman with whom I ſtay, and* Jo. Johnſtoun *with ſome others to ſtay but a Month, and if that did not accompliſh ſomewhat in hand to help* Trading, *then I ſhould be no longer detained. After I was prevailed to retract ſo far, I ordered* Jo. *who had time at command, to give you an ample account of matters; and withal,* Jo. *was deſired by our Friends from* Scotland *to ſtand here in my place the like engagements of Secrecy,* &c. *being taken, and thereupon I ordered him to ſhew you the grounds of my ſtaying, and to deſire if you inclined to croſs the Water to come this way, but ſince many are the confuſed, yea troubled thoughts that have poſſeſſed me for yielding, concerning which, as alſo my yielding to it, take the ſubſequent account.*

In my laſt, or it precedent to it, I ſhewed you that Trading *was very low here; and many breaking, which has made the Merchants (ſuch as they are) to think that* deſparate Diſeaſes muſt have deſparate Cures: *and while they have ſome Stock, it will be better to venture out, than to keep Shop and ſit ſtill till all be gone, and then they ſhall not be able to act, but let all go: Which reſolution I thought a thing not to confide in, ſeeing the moſt of them are* Fire-ſide Merchants, *and love not to venture where ſtorms are any thing apparent. But about my departing they ſhewed the Model of Affairs in ſuch order, that I ſee venture they muſt, and venture they will; whereupon they firſt demanded how our Trade would be carried on. Anſwer, they knew well what Goods had proven moſt prejudicial to the Trade, and therefore they thought to inſiſt upon Negatives, in which whatever I propoſed is aſ-*

ſented

ſented to, as I find; and thus they thought beſt to ſtill ſome Criticks in the Trade: And by this means firſt to endeavour the diſpatching the old rotten Stuff *before they order what to bring home next. This lookt ſomewhat ſtrange to me, but when I conſider all circumſtances, I think they for themſelves do beſt in it: For our Merchants I made account onely to have had ſome ſtock for to ſet the broken ones up again, and ſo bid them here farewel,* and they to try their way, and we ours; *Since they think fit that ſome of theſe whom we have found (as you will ſay, when you hear them named) treacherous dealers in our Trade, conſulted, and accordingly have done: Whereupon I fear, or rather hope that our Merchants, though broke, will rather deſire to live a while longer as they are, than joyn with ſuch, &c. to advance the Trade; unleſs ſurer grounds of their fidelity be gotten, then is, or can be expected, and this is the bottom of all my ſorrow. But to proceed, I find (if all hold that is intended) that they think it is almoſt at a point to ſet forward, if they had their* Factors *home, who are gone to try how the Country will like ſuch Goods, as they are for, or againſt the making ſale off. Friends, I mean Merchants, wrote to me, that after I had ſpoken to you, poſſibly you might come this way, the better thereby to adviſe them what to do in this caſe, for I have ſignified ſomewhat of it to them, but not ſo far as this; becauſe I thought to have ſeen you long ere this time. But I hope you will not miſconſtruct of my ſtaying, ſeeing in it I deſigned nothing but advancement of* our Trade; *but once this Week theſe Factors ſent for will be here, and then matters will* in inſtanti, *either off or on, break, or go thorow. Wherefore in reference to Friends, I deſire you will adviſe me what to do, if you cannot, or think it not convenient to come here; if you do, let a Letter precede, and if any* ſtrange thing *fall out this * Week or the next, I will again poſt it towards you; I think when this and the next Week is gone (and no News comes from you) that I ſhall ſet forward, being ſtill ſo ready, as that in twelve hours I can bid adieu: The* Whiggs *are very low as well in City as in the Subburbs, all Meetings being every* Sunday *beſet with Conſtables to keep them out, and what they get is ſtollen, either at Evening or Morning. This Winter many of the great Bankers and Goldſmiths in* Lombard-ſtreet *are broken and gone: The* Bantam *Factory in the* Indies *is taken by the* Dutch: Confuſion, Confuſion *in Town and Country, ſuch as you never ſaw. Mrs.* Ward *and ſeveral others deſire to be remembred to you. My endeared reſpects to your ſelf and* B. *with the young men arrived. This I have writ in ſhort, and in haſt, expecting a Line with as great haſt as you ſee is needful, for* Matters are full as high as I tell you. *Farewel.*

* *Nota*, That this week His Majesty was expected from *New-Market*, but came eight days ſooner, by reaſon of the Fire.

From your Friend and Servant, while

London, *March* 20. 1683.

Jo. N.

Poſtſcript, Be ſure that you direct not for *Bednal-green*; but for me at Mr. *Mead*'s in *Stepney*, near *London*.

A Letter as it was written with *Argiles* own hand, which was addreſſed to Major *Holms*, and marked Number 3. *June* 21.

THough I cannot by this Poſt ſend you a full account of your Affairs, yet I ſend you as much as may make you take meaſures what Bills to draw upon me, which I hope you will fully underſtand by Mr. B's. *help; the whole account amounted to ſeveral Pages; but I onely give you one to total, as ſufficient.*

I gone ſo I and refuſe object firſt you time much is way the our would of altogether concerned do upon abſolutely do to do effectually as that it be to is at all be 335759424244575769 money 36 4757-5657 of and to 6922473653565 7 and they have is at be that no ſome their 2345535958, *&c.* 50000 4548464758 part as againſt the but concurrence from be leſs nor like place and intereſt is ſmall and power againſt need do bring which *Birch* that cannot time are out upon an 32475323565 7 to 5644425659485844367 projected meat very may little done the been Purſe I to ſhall my liſts I to great venture they pro-ſpect provided have can willing God given conferrence week *Brown* I of things ſaid ſome the now their my head guard mention 3243446757-48465257 things which to your hope ſome ago as over ſome if do ſpoke for of know and encouragement confer have and ſelf be order reſolve and to reckon all and undertake honeſt or was far be Shooes undertaking many of to for purchaſe was as is the a poſſibly us of by force it tho ſo how the credit for time *Birch* and ſome greateſt them concerned will for and to and 404843 ſtation good may onely the if more will if ſhould expect tollerably ſtanding and by and neceſſar the the more the hazarded to it 8 and think urge ſo neceſſar I the that ſo affairs have bu-ſineſs very I poſſible of I ſend here againſt my till what little upon know not which mony 2540574857584052424 4 I ſervice any what ſhall re-ſolve thee at did leaſt effectually thought and far if buſineſs reckoned for ſtill the there I or ſtuck you upon money by firſt ſum if then Bills 26435640465359 52 5769455356424457 well that 3841-444058 5159505845859435 7 need trouble ſomething very a frighten the pro-bably not 2000 the tho the once for and 575942 4244575735 will 4057 5748575840524244 and to money could fooliſh *Browne* many the not to Gods *Brand* beſides ſtay *Job* ſeat yet to propoſed 3222405651 57 a deal the things as all once leſs any drink well on know I as pay whether never the received to any calculate about to that that the ſuch with you I other I I for conſiderable be particular add I are of leſt I but all have it Enemies to cannot to Friends made part I writ wiſh may be ſervice Mr. an whole there conſider perſons it when knowing any and payments to I it low ſhall little little meaning Intelligence thing out had which Tents uſual whole with 6731514850485848 40 and by the more of if but the that bleſſing raiſe a 5456535844575840525 8 4753565744 can Vir-gins ſupply to call 485650405243 not keep imaginable tho them 485-3485244 ſtanding many number 25 4753565733 onely at ſtanding a 5159505848585943 firſt conſiderable with more can them Coun-

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trey 4253515140524344 43 in and there 40565157 it was Weeks half I ſo to at 600 think needs preciſe I the the it a within what requiſite not Sum truly this grounds to ſay Mr. thing nor know they as hath the grounds occaſioned I they both do is Red only let I diſtance in I half in I the little would 405748575840524 2 firſt ſhall number very 1000 and the conſider ſmall confeſs them work propoſed pleaſed cannot are 2000 *Brand* it 544453545044 the be 40565157 then be 404444056-48524646045847445644 43 little 455356424457575844565048-5244 have the but it will 455356574457 and as we yet together onely it for buy it conſider imploy better Intereſt ſmall ſo to ſome 47535657 a future the to total the abſolute of and deſigned and Waggons are but of propoſed or and becauſe what add as out meddle touch of I knowing Merchant there it that what is 4045404856444058445154 58 Red I not but I of expect of up I enforce at be that ſhould a is in conſiderable put I done this all have by the not to had before able will I if and a they have will is for 5753 5043485359 56 ſhall neceſſars the or of if is is they very incident for the dayly not Cloaths neceſſar to there the neceſſar beſt of the 60405639 events little to hope 5644564457 many Sum were for ſo in we them more will in and it had any many yet be may all 514850-48584840 and will it without and not but more got triple on is very 45535959 now be God and but is what a if odds it as near named not bruſh of not leſs power propoſed an of thought my and go you in or re-ſolved ſo I intend hear them our 4556484452435 7 to neither to will much till any the know on in propoſition could what other I of could be the and be but that eaſie were I all differ was abſolutely ſoon more to ſent above at well right foot their together Proviſions the ſuddenly that 404258485352 will take will of the be unwilling the will can at is get *Brand* not 40565157 no ſhould the much their not and men the are be while do to advantage the husbanding for number is be for 5747534457 only to whole Proviſions Charges good can to II my meddle Money as freely for the and be eſtates do project all after ſee be I it ſuch you all 47535657 the yet I diſtance to dare them direction Gods hands in on not prevent and have ſome help may from a a be pray very II Neceſſars and that to a occaſion prices the ſubmit they but not own had made be do men ſome of Sum be neceſſar 47535657 ſuch beſtowed nothing they one it Money of *Brand* not to ſent engaged whole with a concerned own Money next prove Money far then but ſome impoſſible firſt be be moſt to of 4744564858535657 20000 to up do tho there done caſe and yet number without hard appointed leſt 1200 like give will after neceſſar propoſed as ſhould leave hard had number I peremptor I 673347535657 ſtood poſſibly thoſe thought juncture I do mention this as as mean other I as neither give know offer have. *Adieu.*

	Gil.	*St.*
The total Sum is	128	8.

which will be payed to you by Mr. B.

Follows in plain writing on the back of the Letter.

I have found two of the Books I wrote to Mr. B. were loſt, I believe he hath the blew one; we have received his Letter: I have nothing more to ſay to him at preſent; I hope he knows how to write to me, and underſtands my Addreſs, and to inſtruct you; if he do not, I have loſt ſix hours work. *Adieu.*

The Decypher of the ſaid Letter as it was done in *England.*

Sir, June 21.

THough I cannot by this Poſt ſend you a full account of your Affairs, yet I ſend you as much as may make you take meaſures what Bills to draw upon me, which I hope you will fully underſtand by Mr. B's. *help; the whole account amounted to ſeveral Pages; but I onely give you one to total, as ſufficient.*

I gone ſo I and refuſe object firſt you time much is way the our would of altogether concerned do upon abſolutely do to do effectually as that it be to is at all be 33 ſucceſs 69 Money 36 Horſe of and to 69 2 H 36 orſe and they have is at be that no ſome there 23 Foot *&c.* 50000 fight part as againſt the but concurrence from be leſs nor like place and intereſt is ſmall and power againſt need do bring which *Birch* that cannot time are out upon an 32 Ho 23 rſe to recruited projected Meat very may little done the been purſe I to ſhal my liſts I to great venture they proſpect provided have can willing God given conference week *Brown* I of things ſaid ſome the now there my Head guard mention 32 de 67 ſigns things which to your hope ſome ago as over ſome if do ſpoke for of know and encouragement confer have and ſelf be order reſolve and to reckoning all and undertake honeſt or was far be Shoes undertaking many of to for purchaſe was as is the a poſſibly us of by force it tho ſo how the credit for time *Birch* and ſome greateſt them concerned will for and to and *aid* ſtation good may onely the if more will if ſhould expect tollerably ſtanding and by and neceſſar the the more the hazarded to it 8 and think urge ſo neceſſar I the that ſo affairs have buſineſs very I poſſible of I ſend hear againſt my till what little upon know not which Money 25 *Aſſiſtance* I ſervice any what ſhall reſolve the at did leaſt effectually thought and far if buſineſs reckoned for ſtill the there I or ſtuck you upon Money by firſt Sum if then Bills 20 *Dragoons* 69 *Forces* well that 38 *beat Multitudes* need trouble ſomething very a frighten the probably not 2000 the tho the once for and *ſucceſs* 35 will *aſſiſtance* and to Money could fooliſh *Brown* many the not to Gods *Brand* beſides ſtay Job ſeat yet to propoſed 32 22 *Arms* a deal the things as all once leſs any drink well on know I as pay whether never the received to any calculate about to that that the ſuch with you I other I I for conſiderable be particular add I are, of leſt I but all have it Enemies to cannot to an account to Friends made part I write wiſh may be ſervice Mr. an whole there conſider perſons it when knowing any and payment to I it low ſhall little little meaning intelligence thing out had which Tents uſual whole with 67 31 *Militia* and by the more of it but the that bleſſing raiſe a *Proteſtant* Horſe can Virgins ſupply to call *Ireland* not keek imaginable tho them *joyn* ſtanding many number Horſe onely at ſtanding a multitude firſt conſiderable with more can them Countrey *commanded* in and there *Arms* it was Weeks half I ſo to at 600 think needs preciſe I the the it a within what requiſite not ſum truly this grounds to ſay Mr. thing nor know they as hath the grounds occaſioned I they both do is *Red* only let I diſtance in I half in I the little would *aſſiſtance* firſt ſhall number very 1000 and the conſider ſmall con-

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feſs then work propoſed pleaſe cannot are 2000 *Brand* it *people* the be *Arms* them be *appearing* gathered little *Forces Stirling* have the but it will *Forces* and as we yet together only it for buy it conſider imploy better intereſt ſmall ſo to ſome *Horſe* a future the to total the abſolute of and deſign'd and Waggons are but of propoſed or and becauſe what add as out meddle touch I knowing Merchant there is that what is *affair attempt Red* I not but I of expect of up I enforce at be that ſhould a is in conſiderable put I done this all have by the not to had before able will I if and a they have will is for *Souldier* ſhall neceſſars the or of if is is they very incident for the daily not Cloaths neceſſar to their the neceſſar beſt of the *War* 39 events little to hope *repreſs* many ſum were for ſo in we them more will in and it had any many yet be may all *Militia* and will it without and not but more got triple on is very *Foot* now be God and but is what a if odds it as near named not Bruſh of not leſs power propoſed an of thought my and go you in or reſolved ſo I intend hear them our *friends* to neither to will much till any the know on in propoſition could what other I of could be the and be but that eaſie were I all differ was abſolutely ſoon more to ſent above at well right Foot their together proviſions the ſuddenly that *action* will take will of the be unwilling the will can at is get *Brand* not *Arms* no ſhould the much there not and Men the are be while do to advantage the Husbanding for number is be for *Shoes* only to whole proviſions charges good can I I my meddle money as freely for the an be Eſtates do project all after ſee be I it ſuch you all *Horſe* the yet I diſtance to dar them direction Gods hands in on not prevent and have ſome help may from a a be pray very I I neceſſars and that to a occaſion prices the ſubmit they but not own had made be do men ſome of ſum be neceſſar *Horſe* ſuch beſtowed nothing they one it money of *Brand* not to ſent engaged whole with a concerned own money next prove money far then but ſome impoſſible firſt be be moſt to of *Heretors* 20000 to up do tho there done caſe and yet number without hard appointed leaſt 1200 like give will after neceſſar propoſed as ſhould leave hard had number I peremptor J 67 33 *Horſe* ſtood poſſibly thoſe thought Juncture I do mention this as as mean other I as neither give know offer have. *Adieu.*

Gil. *St*
The total Sum is 128-------8.
which will be paid to you
by Mr. B.

Written in plain ſence on the back of the Letter.

I have found two of the Books I wrote to Mr. B. were loſt, I believe he hath the Blue on: we have received his Letter. I have nothing more to ſay to him at preſent: I hope he knows how to write to me, and underſtands my Addreſs, and to inſtruct you, if he do not I have loſt ſix hours work. *Adieu.*

The Copy of the ſaid Letter, as it was given in by Mr. Spence, *according to the plain Sence thereof, without the Preface or Poſtſcript, being ſet down already with the Cypher and Decypher.*

I Know not the grounds our Friends have gone upon, which hath occaſioned them to offer ſo little Money as I hear, neither know I what Aſſiſtance they intend to give; and till I know both, I will neither refuſe my ſervice, nor do ſo much as object againſt any thing is reſolved, till I firſt hear what Mr.* *Red*, or any other you ſend, ſhall ſay; onely in the mean time I reſolve to let you know as much of the Grounds I go on, as is poſſible at this diſtance, and in this way. I did truly in my Propoſition mention the very leaſt Sum I thought could do our Buſineſs effectually, not half of what I would have thought requiſite in an other Juncture of Affairs; and what I propoſed I thought altogether ſo far within the power of thoſe concerned, that if a little leſs could poſſibly do the Buſineſs, it would not be ſtood upon: I reckoned the aſſiſtance of the Horſe abſolutely neceſſary for the firſt Bruſh, and I do ſo ſtill: I ſhall not be peremptory to urge the preciſe number named, but I do think there needs very near that number effectually; and I think a 1000 as eaſie had as 8 or 600, and it were hard that it ſtuck at the odds; I leave it to you to conſider if all ſhould be hazarded, upon ſo ſmall a differ. As to the Money, I confeſs what was propoſed is more by half than is abſolutely neceſſary at the firſt weeks work, but ſoon after all the Sum was propoſed, and more will be neceſſary, if it pleaſe God to give ſucceſs, and then Arms cannot be ſent like Money by Bills: There are now above 1200 Horſe and Dragoons, and 2000 Foot at leaſt of ſtanding Forces in † *Brand* very well appointed and tollerably well commanded, it is right hard to expect that Countrey people on Foot, without Horſe, ſhould beat them the triple their number; and if multitudes can be got together, yet they will need more Arms, more Proviſion, and have more trouble with them: But the Caſe is, if ſomething conſiderable be not ſuddenly done at the very firſt appearing, and that there be onely a multitude gathered without action, though that may frighten a little, it will do no good, the ſtanding Forces will take up ſome ſtation, probably at *Stirling*, and will to their aid not onely have the Militia of Twenty thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe, but all the Heretors, *&c.* to the number it may be of Fifty thouſand; and though many will be unwilling to fight for the ſtanding Forces, yet the moſt part will once joyn, and many will be as concerned for them, as any can be againſt them: and though we had at firſt the greateſt ſucceſs imaginable, yet it is impoſſible but ſome will keep together, and get ſome concurrence and aſſiſtance, not only in * *Brand* but from † *Birch*, and *Ireland*; it will not then be time to call for more Arms,

* *Carſtares.*

† *Scotland.*

* *Scotland.*

† *England.*

far

fra less for Money to buy them, no Money nor Credit could supply it, we should prove like the Foolish Virgins: Consider in the next place how * *Brown* can imploy so much Money, and so many Horse, better for their own interest, tho the Protestant Interest were not concerned; is it not a small Summ, and a small Force, to raise so many men with, and by Gods blessing, to repress the whole Power of * *Brand*, that some hope are engaged against us, besides the Horse to be sent, need possibly stay but a little while to do a Job, if future events do not bring the seat of the War to *Brand*, which is yet more to the advantage of * *Birch*, as to the total of the Money that was propos'd by the best Husbanding it, cannot purchase Arms, and absolute necessaries for one time, for a Militia of the number they are to deal with, and there is nothing out of the whole design'd to be bestowed upon many things usual, and necessary for such an Undertaking, as Tents, Waggons, Cloaths, Shoes, Horse, Horse-shoes; all which are not only necessary to be once had, but dayly to be recruited, far less out of the whole summ projected, was any thing proposed for Provisions of Meat or Drink, Intelligence, or incident Charges; some very Honest well-meaning, and very good Men, may undertake on little, because they can do little, and know little what is to be done. All I shall add is, I made the Reckoning as low as if I had been to pay it out of my own Purse; and whether I meddle or meddle not, I resolve never to touch the Money, but to order the payment of Necessaries, as they shall be received; and I shall freely submit my self to any knowing Souldier for the Lists, and any knowing Merchant for the Prices I have calculated, when there is an occasion to confer about it, it will be a great encouragment to persons that have Estates to venture, and that consider what they do, that they know that there is a project, and prospect of the whole Affair, and all Necessaries provided for such an attempt: If after I have spoke with Mr. † *Red*, I see I can do you Service, I will be very willing; if I be not able, I pray God some other may; but before it be given over, I wish I had such a conference as I writ of to you a Week ago, for I expect not all from * *Browne*, some considerable part of the Horse may I hope be made up by the help of your particular friends. I have yet some things to add, to enforce all I have said, which I cannot at this distance; and some things are to be done to prevent the designs of Enemies, that I dare not now mention, lest it should put them on their Guard, I have a considerable direction in my head, but all is in Gods hands.

* Dissenting Lords.

* *Scotland.*

* *England.*

† *Carstares.*

* Dissenting Lords.

The manner of Decyphering is explain'd more at large in another Book, called, an Account of Discoveries made in Scotland, *&c.*

Part of William Spence *his Depoſition.*

At the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, the 19*th.* of *Auguſt*, 1684

MR. *William Spence*, of the Age 33 Years, or thereby, not married, Solemnly ſworn, Depones, That in the Paper ſubſcribed by him; the Letter dated 21. *June*, and the other without date, marked *A*, are written plain, and in the true Senſe, ſo far as his knowledge reaches, and that he had no Key to open the Letters with, but the Alphabetical Cypher: That by the 128 *Gilders*, 8 *Stivers*, mentioned in the end of the long Letter, he underſtands that it is the Key thereof; and by the payment of the ſame, he underſtands the way of uſing it. That he does truly believe there was an Inſurrection intended, within theſe two Years; and as for what is to come, he cannot tell what the People abroad may be doing: That he had often heard of Deſigns and Aſſociations; but that they were directly intended to hinder the *Duke* his Succeſſion to the Crown, he cannot ſay: For all that he underſtood was pretended for the Ground of any deſigns of Arms, was the defence of the *Proteſtant Religion*, the Liberties of the Kingdom; and if againſt the *Duke* his Succeſſion only, in ſo far as that might be prejudicial to theſe; and that he thinks upon the *King's* death Troubles may probably ariſe: That Mr. *Weſt*, to whom the Letters were directed, was not one of that name; but Major *Holms*, to the beſt of his knowledge: And this is the Truth as he ſhall anſwer to God. *Sic ſubſcribitur.*

W. Spence.

The Information of Robert Smith, *formerly of the Pariſh of* Dunſcore, *in the Sherifdom of* Dumfreis, *in the Kingdom of* Scotland.

AT all the Conventicles for near two years before the Rebellion in the year 1679. There were great Contributions of Money (which were chearfully given) under the pretence of a Subſiſtance for their Miniſters, and the Poor of their Perſwaſion (the only deſign that was known to the meaner ſort of People) but the greateſt part of the Money was employ'd for Arms and Ammunition for a General Riſing: In order whereunto the Phanaticks in the Months of *April*, *May* and *June*, 1679. were preparing themſelves, by keeping ſeveral great Field-Conventicles (both in the Weſt and South)

in

in which were conſiderable Numbers of Armed Men. And although they were generally very fond and forward to put their deſign in Execution; yet it was haſtned a Month ſooner then was intended, by the Skirmiſh that happened about the middle of *June* within two Miles of *Lowdon-hill*, between a Party of his Majeſties Forces under the Command of Captain (now Colonel) *Graham* of *Claverhouſe*, and a ſtrong Field-Conventicle, in which I was my ſelf with a Party of a Troop of Horſe (levyed in *Nithsdale* in the end of *May*, and beginning of *June*) whereof I was Cornet, under Mr. *William Ferguſon* of *Caitlock*, Captain, and *John Gibſon* of *Auchinchein* Lieutenant. The ſame Night after that Skirmiſh, I was at the Earl of *Lowdon*'s Houſe with *Robert Hamilton*, *John Balfour*, and *David Haxton* (both Murderers of the late Arch-Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*) *John Ker* in *Minebole*, and ſeveral others, in number about Twenty Seven Horſe. The Earl himſelf was in the Houſe, and I ſaw him paſs into the Garden; but I did not perceive that he came into our Company, though I have reaſon to believe that *Robert Hamilton* was with his Lordſhip and his Lady in ſome of the Chambers, becauſe I ſaw him leaving us all of his Company in the great Hall, and going into the private Rooms, where I am ſure was my Lady, as I do not doubt but my Lord was alſo, for it was from thence that I ſaw him paſs into the Garden: But my Lady did publickly that Night entertain and lodge all the Company. The next morning at four of the Clock we came from that Earls Houſe, and made all the haſte we could to *Hamilton*, in order to joyn the Body that we had parted with the day before; and the next day we all Marched to *Glaſgow*, where (the morning after) we were beaten by ſome Troops and Companies of the King's Forces, and thereupon returned to *Hamilton*. From thence I went in Company of Mr. *David Williamſon* (who was a Preacher and a Captain) with Sixſcore Horſe to the Shire of *Galloway*, where we met and joyned Six Troops of Horſe and about as many Companies of Foot that were Levyed in that Country and *Nithſdale* for our Aſſiſtance. Thereafter we went into *Dumfreis* where we ſtay'd a night, and had notice of the Kings Forces coming to the *Kirk* of *Shots*; whereupon we march'd with all poſſible Diligence to joyn the reſt of the Rebels at *Hamilton*; ſeizing all the Arms and Horſes that we could find by the way, eſpecially at *Drumlanriq*, *Thorn-hill*, *Sanehar*, *Cumnock*, *Ceſnock*, *Newmills* and *Strevin*; but at *Ceſnock* we received four hundred Lances, which we were told were the free and voluntary Gift of Sir *Hugh Campbell*, the Father, and Sir *George*, the Son. There was one paſſage in this march, which I cannot forbare to relate, *viz.* That as we were paſſing by the old Caſtle of *Treve* (where his late Majeſty of bleſſed Memory had a Garriſon, in the beginning of the unhappy Troubles of his Reign) Old *Gordon* of *Earlſtown* (who in few days after was killed at *Bothwell-Bridge*) in my hearing ſpoke to the Officers that were about him as followeth, *Gentlemen, I was the Man that commanded the Party which took this Caſtle from the late King, who had in it about* 200 *of the Name of* Maxwell, *of whom the greateſt part being Papiſts we put them all to the Sword, and demolliſh'd the Caſtle, as you ſee it: And now (though an Old Man) I take up Arms againſt the Son, whom I hope to ſee go the ſame way that his Father went: For we can never put truſt*

truſt in a Covenant-Breaker: So Gentlemen, your Cauſe is good, ye need not fear to fight againſt a forſworn King.

Upon *Saturday* the 21*ſt.* of *June*, 1679. the main Body of the Rebels came to *Hamilton*, and lay encamped betwixt that place, and *Bothwell-Bridge* until *Sunday* the 29*th.* when we were defeated by the King's Forces, During which time there came to our Camp great ſtore of Proviſions and Arms from *Glasgow*, *Hamilton*, *Lanrick*, *Leſmahago*, *Newmills*, and ſeveral other places in *Cliſdale*, and the parts adjacent; but I do not know the particular Perſons from whom they were ſent, ſave only what I have ſaid concerning our receiving the 400 Lances at *Ceſnock*: But about a week before our coming to that Place, as we were paſſing by the Earl of *Galloway*'s Houſe of *Garlis*, his Brother the Laird of *Rymſtone* came to ſee ſome of the Gentlemen that were of our number, and accompani'd us Ten or Twelve Miles, returning aftewards to his Houſe; but before his going he gave Aſſurance that both his Brother, the Earl of *Galloway* the Lord *Kenmore* and himſelf were our Friends: And I did hear him giving great Incouragement to the meaner ſort of People that were in Arms with us, by bidding them to be Chearful and Couragious; for he did aſſure them that they had very good Friends in the Country; and we did believe that within few days thereafter, as well the Earl of *Galloway*, and Lord *Kenmore*, as the ſaid Laird of *Rymſtone* would come and joyn with us, and had we been able to continue ſome time longer together in a conſiderable Body, and had given the leaſt fail to the King's Forces, we expected that many Perſons of great Quality and Intereſt, would have joyn'd with us: Whereof a perfect Account can be given by *Earlſtown* (now a Priſoner in *Edinburg*) if he will but ingenuouſly declare what he knows.

The Night before the Fight, the Rebels (one *Hamilton Moor*) held a Council of War, conſiſting of *Robert Hamilton*, *David Haxton* of *Rathillett*, *John Balfour*, *Major Ledmont*, *Mackcrellan* of *Barſcob*, *Gordon* of *Home*, Mr. *William Ferguſon* of *Caitloch*, (my Captain aforeſaid,) *Gordon* of *Craig*, *Gorton* of *Newtoun*, *Gordon* of *Earlſtone* Elder, *Gordon* of *Earlſtone* Younger, *Gordon* of *Craichlaw*, Captain *Mackculloch*, *Macdougall* of *Freugh*, Captain *John Smith*, Captain *Home*, Mr. *William Clelaud* a Captain of Horſe, Mr. *James Fowler* a Captain of Foot, *Andrew Story* a Captain of Foot, and ſeveral other Gentlemen and Officers, whoſe Names I do not at the preſent remember, but do well know the Places of their abode. There were alſo ſeveral of the Miniſters in this Council of War, *viz.* Mr. *John Welch*, Mr. *Robert Archiebald*, Mr. *Alexander Haſty*, Mr. *David Williamſon* (who alſo as I have ſaid before was Captain of a Troop of Horſe) Mr. *David Home*, Mr. *John Blakater*, Mr. *John Blackloth*, Mr. *Donald Cargil*, Mr. *John Kid*, Mr. *John King*, Mr. *John Dick*, Mr. *Thomas Forreſter*, Mr. *John Dickſon*, Mr. *Robert Sandilands*, Mr. *Patrick Vernatt*, and Mr. *John Harraway* with ſome others: But at this time Mr. *Richard Cameron* and his Brother Mr. *Michael*, with ſome few other Miniſters were gone to *Holland* with Moneys to pay for Arms that were formerly brought by *Kerſland*'s Son (as I was ſince inform'd) and ſome other Pha-

Phanaticks living there. In this Council there were very hot debates betwixt *Welch*'s Party (the moſt conſiderable of the two) who were content to lay down Arms upon their getting an Indulgence, and *Robert Hamilton*'s Party who would reſt ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, and ſetting up a pure Preſbyterian Government, as they call'd it. And the Differences were ſo great betwixt them, that the choice of their chief Officers (which was deſign'd to have been that Night) was put off till the next day, (being *Sunday*) at Ten in the Forenoon; but were prevented by the King's Army coming before Sun-riſing, to the North-end of *Bothwel-Bridge*: However, they did that Night appoint two Commiſſioners, (*viz.* Mr. *David Home* and Captain *Mackculloch*) to treat for them with the Duke of *Monmouth*: On whom they waited accordingly about half an Hour before the Fight, but returned without any Succeſs. The general Diſcourſe amongſt the Rebels on *Friday* and *Saturday* was, That the Lord *Burgany* would certainly come in to them the *Monday* following (had not the Fight on *Sunday* prevented him) to command their Forces in chief, and to appoint ſuch Field Officers, both for the Horſe and Foot as he ſhould think fit, unleſs they had been appointed by the Council of War before his coming; but in either of the Caſes they were to have had their Commiſſions from him: For it was moſt certain, that they would not allow *Robert Hamilton* to be their Commander in chief. The Rebels did frequently and openly expreſs the great Confidence they had in ſome of their Friends about the Duke of *Monmouth*, and particularly the Lord *Melvil*, the Lord *Newark*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, and Sir [illegible] *Hamilton* of *Preſton* (the Elder Brother of *Robert Hamilton*) beſides ſome others whom I do not now remember, but could know them, if I ſhould hear their Names.

When the King's ſtanding Forces begun to paſs the *Bridge*, the chief Officers of the Rebels were conſulting what was fit for them to do, and it was reſolved that they ſhould all March away in good Order towards *Carrick*, and the Ruins of *Galloway*, until they ſhould be furniſhed with Arms and Ammunition, which were Landed at *Borrowſtenneſs* (beſides what was expected from *Holland*) but could not then be brought to them, by Reaſon of the King's Army having been interpoſed between them and that Place. And moreover they were in Expectation of conſiderable Reinforcements both of Horſe and Foot, which were on their March from ſeveral parts of the Country. But their chief Encouragement to proſecute this Deſign, was the Confidence they had, that the Duke of *Monmouth* would not put any hardſhip upon them; which I have good Reaſon to believe was true; for when I was in Company with all the Rebels Horſe (about 1600. in number) leſs than a mile from the Field of Battle, marching up on a riſing Ground (in our Retreat) I look'd over my Shoulder, and ſaw the King's Horſe at a ſtand, after they had purſued us a little way, which we look'd upon as having been done to favor our eſcape: For if they had follow'd us, they had certainly kill'd or taken us all, a few only excepted, who were very well mounted; and we were often afterwards told, that they were ſtopt by the Duke of *Monmouth*'s poſitive Command, when they were violently purſuing us, after they had quite broke our Foot (conſiſt-

ing upwards of 4000.) and were within leſs than half a mile of the Body of our Horſe (running away) which then was in great Conſternation and Confuſion: However, we march'd that forenoon in as good Order as we could (twelve miles over a Moor) to *Newmills*, without any of his Majeſties Forces giving us the leaſt Diſturbance, where we ſeparated, ſome going towards *Air*, others to *Galloway*, and the reſt to *Nithſdale*; amongſt which laſt, were the moſt reſolute of the Officers, to the number of betwixt 45 and 50; who continued together in Arms, going up and down the Country in *Galloway*, *Nithſdale* and other places thereabouts (after all the reſt were ſcattered) until a Party of the King's Forces, under the Command of *Claverhouſe* came into *Galloway*, and then we (for I was my ſelf all along with that ſmall remainder of the Rebels) went into the *Weſt*, where we were moſt kindly entertain'd in many places, though I do not remember the Names of the Perſons by whom: But I do well know their Habitations; and I was afterwards told by *Mr. Richard Camron*, and his Brother *Mr. Michael*, that they and ſeveral others were ſheltered and entertained by Sir *Hugh*, and Sir *George Campbells* at their Houſe of *Ceſnock*. After ſome ſtay in the Weſt, I returned to my own Houſe (*Kilroy*) within four miles of *Dumfreis*, where having ſtaid about five or ſix weeks, the ſaid *Mr. Richard Camron*, and his Brother *Mr. Michael* (who were ſome ſhort time before returned from *Holland*) came to ſee me, and ſtay'd with me two Nights: They told me, that they had bought four ſmall Braſs Guns with a conſiderable quantity of Ammunition and Fire-Arms, which they had in a Readineſs, to have been Shipp'd at *Amſterdam*, in Order to their having been landed at *Greenock*) when they receiv'd the News of the Defeat at *Bothwell-Bridge*: Whereupon they put up the ſaid Guns, Arms and Ammunition in a ſecure place in *Amſterdam*, until there ſhould be Occaſion for them. The *Sunday* after their coming to my Houſe, Mr. *Richard Camron* kept a Field-Conventicle within a mile of Sir *Robert Dalyell*'s Houſe, where were about three thouſand in number. The Occaſion of this Meeting (where I was preſent) was to ſee how the Country ſtood inclin'd, and who would joyn with him. From thence the ſaid Mr. *Richard* carry'd with him twenty Men (whereof I was one) to the Laird of St. *John's Kirk* (a Couſin of the Lord *Carmichael's*, and I ſuppoſe his Name is alſo *Carmichael*,) whoſe Houſe is about two miles from *Biggar*, and towards thirty from *Edinburg*, where we ſtay'd four days: During which, there was ſeveral Conventicles kept in the Houſe, at which, the Laird and his Lady were conſtantly preſent: And the *Sunday* after we kept a Field-Conventicle on *Tinto-Hill*, to which, there was People gather'd from all Parts of the Country thereabout, to the number of between three or four Thouſand, whereof many were well Arm'd. From this Hill I went with Mr. *Richard Camron* aforeſaid, and upwards of twenty more to the Lady *Gilkerſcleughs*'s Houſe (a Widow Lady) in *Clidſdale*, where we ſtay'd a Week, and kept ſeveral Conventicles with her. About this time the Duke was come to *Scotland*, and whilſt we were in this Houſe, it was one Night at Supper propos'd by *Haxtoun* to kill his Royal Highneſs, the ſaid Lady being preſent together with the two *Camrons*, four Gentlemen of the *North*, whom I knew not, and two of my Neighbors whoſe Names are *John Harper*, and *Robert Nalſon*. This

This *Haxtoun* ſaid he would do it himſelf if he could come at him; and thought, that it might beſt be done when the Duke was at Dinner; wherefore he asked, If there were any there that would go and obſerve all the manner of his Royal Highneſſe's Dining? Whether People might get into the Room to ſee him at Dinner? And if there were any Number, or Crowds of People got in? Saying, That he was too well known to go upon this Errand himſelf. So Mr. *Michael Camron* undertook it, and took me along with him, who were particularly inſtructed to obſerve, whether people could go in with large Coats or Cloaks upon them, and Women with Plads; and whether they could paſs the Sentinels with their Swords: And according as he ſhould find matters, he would afterwards contrive the beſt way to effect the Buſineſs. Accordingly we two went, and ſaw the Duke at Dinner; but as we returned to our Lodging, at one *Danald Mackay*'s Houſe, at the Head of the *Cowgate*, near the *Graſs-market*, *Camron* (by chance) met there a man which knew him; whereupon we both betook our ſelves immediately to our Horſes, and were purſued by Twelve of the King's Dragoons, who followed us ſo cloſe, that we were forced to part Company; and I went to my own Houſe, where being again in danger by a Party of *Claverhouſe* his Troop, and not thinking my ſelf ſafe, I came into *England*, where I continued three years, and was at many Preſbyterian Houſe-Conventicles in *Shrewsbury*, *Brummigham* and *Briſtol*; but never ſee a Field-Conventicle in this Kingdom, ſave one at *Clee-hill* (ſome few miles diſtant from *Ludlow*) upon a *Sunday* in *May*, 1681, where were met to the number of upwards of 1000; and ſome of Note were amongſt them; but I do only remember the Names of Mr. *Burton* (a Lawyer whoſe Country-Reſidence is in *Shropſhire*) and Mr. *Wardin*, a Merchant in *Brummigham*, beſides the two Miniſters who preached there, whoſe Names are Mr. *Thomas Eagleſall*, who lived in a little Market Town (called *Kinver*) in *Worceſterſhire*, near Juſtice *Foley*'s Houſe, and Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, who lived near *Shrewsbury*; and their Sermons were wholly tending to raiſe Faction and Sedition, in the ſame manner as I have too frequently heard in the Field-Conventicles in *Scotland*. About a year and half ago I went over into *Holland*, when I ſaw the (ſince deceaſed) Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the late Earl of *Argile*, at *Amſterdam*; but did not ſpeak with either of them; and ſaw *Ferguſon* at *Rotterdam*, with whom I ſpoke; but nothing concerning the Government. Then Mr. *John Hog*, and the other *Scotch* Miniſters belonging to *Rotterdam* (knowing that I was in the Rebellion, and could not ſafely live at Home) adviſed me to enter my ſelf a Souldier in the Prince of *Orange*'s Army; which I did accordingly in Colonel *James Douglas*'s Regiment, in his own Company, where I ſerved a Year; and then became known to Mr. *Thomas Maxwell*, a Captain in that Regiment, whoſe Countrey-man I am; and he underſtanding that I was fled from home upon the Account of my Acceſſion to that Rebellion, told me how fair an Opportunity I had to ſerve the King, by making a full Diſcovery of all Perſons that I knew to be guilty of it, or any ways aiding and aſſiſting towards the promoting the ſame. Adding, that if I would follow his Advice in that matter, he doubted not of his putting me in a way to deſerve

ſerve and obtain the King's Remiſſion, whereby I might be enabled to live peaceably at home hereafter. To which I did very readily conſent: And he having thereupon (the 12*th.* of *November* laſt) obtained my Diſcharge from my Colonel, I have ſince diſcovered what I could. And particularly that at *Rotterdam* (ſince my ſaid Diſcharge) I had ſeen ſeveral of the Whiggiſh Miniſters, ſome whereof I remember were at *Bothwel-Bridge*, who came from *Scotland* about the beginning of *September* laſt, *viz.* Mr. *Thomas Forreſter*, and Mr. *Patrick Vernatt* (formerly mentioned in the Council of War) who preach frequently in the *Scots* Church at *Rotterdam*, As do Mr. *Gordon* (who is Brother to *James Gordon*, a Merchant there lately deceaſed) Mr. *John Harvey*, Mr. *George Barclay*, and Mr. *John Sinclair*, all Phanatick Preachers. The moſt part of whom (as the above-mentioned Mr. *Forreſter* told me) went over from *Holland* into *Scotland*, about the month of *Auguſt* laſt; but that they found themſelves in ſuch daily Hazards of being apprehended, that they returned back again to *Holland*; and that this bad News which they brought over with them, is the reaſon why *Robert Hamilton*'s late intended Journey to *Scotland* was put off, whither I was ſometime before informed he did intend to go, and to carry Arms along with him to ſome of his Friends there. The ſaid *Forreſter* told me further, That they reſolve to keep no more Field-Conventicles, finding, that thoſe Meetings have ſerved only to weaken their Party, through the ſeizing of ſome, and diſperſing the reſt (which made their Friends publickly known) and that now the *Engliſh* and they joyn Councils, and reſolve to go on more warily. I did likewiſe diſcover, that the manner of the ſaid Miniſters, their paſſing to and fro betwixt *Holland* and *Scotland* undiſcovered, was by their being clad in Sea-mans Cloaths, and working in the Ships as Sea-men. As alſo, that I was perſwaded, before they ſhall attempt any thing towards a new Rebellion, or making uſe of the Arms, that the two *Camrons* left in *Amſterdam* (which are now in the Cuſtody of the late Earl of *Argile*, as I was told about nine Weeks ago in *Utrecht*, by Sir *John Cochran*'s ſecond Son, and *Mr. William Cleland*, mentioned in the Council of War) they will firſt endeavor to diſpatch the King; and that being done, they doubted not but they could ſoon overcome the Duke, and all others that would oppoſe them: Which I heard my ſelf diſcourſed in a *Meeting* about two months ago, at Mr. *Thomas Hog*, a Phanatick Preacher his Houſe in *Utrecht*, where were preſent (beſides *Mr. Hog*, and my ſelf) Sir *John Cochran*'s Son, and Mr. *Cleland*, already mentioned, *Mr. James Steward*, the Lawyer, his Lady, the Lady *Kerſland*, and her Son, with ſeveral others, whoſe Names I do not remember: But this Language they ſpeak only amongſt their confident Friends: For they make the common ſort of People believe, that there was no ſuch thing as a Phanatick-Plot; but that the raiſing of that Report was a Contrivance of the Papiſts, to make uſe of falſe Witneſſes, for taking away the Lives of True Proteſtants; which I have often heard, not only diſcourſed in Houſes where ſome of the ordinary ſort of People were in Company; but alſo preached in the Churches, where the Sermons (for

the

Oath) to bring up their Children in the true Proteſtant Faith, and in the Diſcipline and Doctrine of the Kirk of *Scotland*, according as they are obliged by the Solemn League and Covenant; and at their Communions, debarring always from their Sacrament all ſuch as have not taken the Covenant, and do not adhere to it. But of all the Fugitive Preachers lately gone over from *Scotland* into *Holland*, none is more perverſely violent againſt the Government, than *Mr. John Sinclair* (who for many years was *Miniſter*, and kept a Boarding School at *Ormieſtoun*) whom about twelve Weeks ago I heard preach in the *Scotch* Church at *Rotterdam*; and a great part of his Sermon was railing againſt the Duke, and the Privy Council of *Scotland*, ſaying, That he (meaning his Royal Highneſs) was a Rebellious Enemy of God; and had got ſuch a Hand over thoſe perjur'd Rogues (meaning the Lords of the Privy Council) as they all intended to overturn the Proteſtant Religion, and to introduce Popery; which (he further ſaid) could very eaſily be done, conſidering the ſmall Difference that is betwixt them ſince Epiſcopacy was re-eſtabliſhed; and in his Prayer after Sermon, I heard him pray earneſtly, That God might open the King's Eyes, to let him ſee the Evil of his Ways, and turn from it; otherwiſe, That God might take him out of this World, from being a Curſe, and a Scourge to his Holy People. And further prayed, That God would turn the Counſels of his Councellors, as he did that of *Achitophel* into nothing.

The late Earl of *Argile* lives now in the Province of *Friſland*, where he has a ſmall Eſtate, purchaſed partly by his Father, and partly by himſelf; upon one of their Family or Tenants foretelling many years ago, that they ſhould be driven from their Eſtate in *Scotland*, as I was often told in *Holland*, particularly by Mr. *John Hog* Miniſter of the *Scotch* Church in *Rotterdam* and Mr. *John Pitcairne*, who keeps a Meeting-houſe at *Utrecht*. The Earl of *Lowdon* with two Servants only, and Sir *James Dalrymple* of *Stair* with his whole Family, live at *Leyden*, beſides Mr. *Douglas* (a Miniſter) and ſome few more whoſe names I do not remember. There are many Phanatick Houſe-keepers in *Rotterdam*, who harbour the Rebels and Fugitives that come over from *Scotland*, Viz. *Robert Gibs*, Mr. *Liviſtoune*, *John Gibbs*, Mr. *Ruſſell*, *James Delapp*, *James Thomſon*, *John Greirſon*, *James Nory*, *John Jack*, *George Weir*, all Merchants, and the Widdow of the lately Deceaſed *James Gordon* Merchant, whoſe Houſe was the Common Receptacle of the chief of thoſe Rebels and Fugitives. The Gentlemen that I left at *Rotterdam* are, Mr. *Denham* of *Weſtsheills* with his Family, Captain *William Cleland*, *John Belfour*, with his Family, Captain *William Ferguſon* of *Caitloch* with his Family, Captain *Andrew Story*. The Miniſters there are Mr. *John Hog*, Mr. *Robert Fleeming* (ſetled Preachers of the *Scotch* Church) Mr. *John Harraway*, Mr. *Thomas Forreſter*, Mr. *Alexander Haſty*, Mr. *Patrick Vernat*, Mr. *John Blakater*, Mr. Gordon, Mr. *George Barclay* and Mr. *John Sinclair* aforeſaid, who is now ſettled a Preacher in the *Engliſh* Church at *Delfe*. At *Utrecht* I left Mr. *James Stewart* the Lawyer with his Family, and his Elder Brother the Laird of *Coldneſſe*, Mr. *Cochran*, (Sir *John*'s Second Son) the Lady *Kerſland* and her Son, and Six Miniſters, *Viz.* Mr. *Thomas Hogg*, Mr. *John Pitcairne*,

Mr. *John Ogilvy*, Mr. *John Veitche*, Mr. *Robert Ker* and Mr. *Robert Menteath*, beſides ſome others of leſs Note, whoſe names I do not remember I left at *Utrecht* three *Engliſh* Gentlemen who lived there for ſome time before, and go by the Names of Eſquire *Packwood*, *Mr. Smith* a Merchant of *London*, and *Mr. Jones* a *Welſh-man*, but I do not believe that theſe are their true Names for they fled from *England* upon the Diſcovery of the late Plot; as did likewiſe ſeveral other *Engliſhmen*, whom I did often ſee there, but could not learn their Names. I did alſo ſee and ſpeak with Sir *John Cochran*, but he and 7. or 8. *Scotchmen* more (whoſe names I know not) went two days after my Arrival there, to *Gilderland*, where a great many of the Rebels and Fugitives live (as they think) moſt ſafe and at eaſe amongſt the Boors; for they were afraid of Staying at *Utrecht* (as ſome of themſelves told me) by reaſon of the Spies that they were informed were ſent thither from *England* to make enquiry after ſuch of his *Majeſties* Subjects as lived there. And *Mr. Cochran* and Captain *Cleland* told me as their Friend, that the report amongſt our Countrymen was that I likewiſe was ſent thither as a Spie; which although they did not believe, yet they adviſed me to be gone away privately, aſſuring me withal that I was every hour I ſtayed there in hazard of loſing my Life. Upon this I returned to *Rotterdam*, where my Credit with that Party continued about a week, untill I was ſuſpected by my old Captain and three of the Miniſters, *Viz.* *Harraway*, *Forreſter* and *Sinclair*, who about 7 or 8 Weeks ago carried me with them to Church, and there propoſed (as a Teſt of my Sincerity to the intereſt of the good Cauſe as it was commonly called) that I ſhould take the Covenant and the Sacrament with a Solemn Proteſtation that I am ſtill (as I have been in former times) an Enemy to the King and the preſent Government: All which I refuſed to do; and then they debarred me for ever from their Meetings and Company: Nevertheleſs I did often thereafter inſinuate my ſelf into both, though without any Succeſs; for I could not recover their good opinion, but on the contrary was daily threatned with the ſevereſt effects of their revenge.

White-hall,

24 *Feb.* 168¼. *Robert Smith.*

The

The Information of Zachariah Bourne *taken the* 5th. *of* December, 1683.

THat *Mr. Bayly* ſat up one night, if not two, with *Mr. Ferguſon*, and went ſeveral times in the Evening, with him to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the cheif managers of the Conſpiracy: *Ferguſon* told me, he was the Cheif man for the *Scots*, next the Lord *Argile*. The Night he ſat up with *Ferguſon*, I believe it was about the Declaration, for the next day he was going to ſhew it me, but ſome body came up to him, and hinder'd him. *Mr. Bayly*'s great buſineſs to meet the Cheif Conſpirators was (as *Ferguſon* told me) to get the 10000. *l.* for the buying of Arms, for the Inſurrection in *Scotland*.

Carſtares I ſaw often come to *Ferguſon*, but for any Diſcourſe he had with him he never told me of, or with any other but *Mr. Bayly*, as I can at preſent remember.

Zac. Bourne.

The Depoſition of Mr. William Carſtares, *when he was Examined before the Lords of Secret Committee, given in by him, and renewed upon Oath, upon the* 22d. *of* December, 1684. *in preſence of the Lords of His Majeſty's Privy-Council.*

Edinburgh-Caſtle, *September* 8. 1684.

MR. *William Carſtares* being Examin'd upon Oath, conform to the Condeſcention given in by him, and on the Terms there-in-mention'd, Depones, That about *November* or *December*, 1682. *James Stuart*, Brother to the Laird of *Cultneſs*, wrote a Letter to him from *Holland*, importing, that if any conſiderable ſum of Money could

could be procur'd from *England*, that ſomething of Importance might be done in *Scotland*: The which Letter, the Deponent had an Inclination to inform *Shepard* in *Abb-Church-lane*, Merchant in *London* of; but before he could do it, he wrote to Mr. *Stuart* above-nam'd, to know from him if he might do it; and Mr. *Stuart* having conſented, he Communicat the ſaid Letter to Mr. *Shepard*, who told the Deponent that he would Communicat the Contents of it to ſome perſons in *England*; but did at that time name no body, as the Deponent, thinks: Some time thereafter, Mr. *Shepard* told the Deponent, that he had Communicat the Contents of the Letter above-named to Colonel *Sidney*, and that Colonel *Danvers* was preſent, and told the Deponent, that Colonel *Sidney* was averſe from imploying the late Earl of *Argile*, or medling with him, judging him a man too much affected to the Royal Family, and inclined to the preſent Church-Government; yet Mr. *Shepard* being put upon it by the Deponent, ſtill urg'd, that one might be ſent to the Earl of *Argile*, but as Mr. *Shepard* told him, he was ſuſpected upon the account of his urging ſo much; yet afterwards he preſs'd, without the Deponents knowledge, that the Deponent being to go to *Holland* however, might have ſome Commiſſion to the Earl of *Argile*, which he having inform'd the Deponent of, the Deponent told him, that he himſelf would not be concern'd, but if they would ſend another he would introduce him; but nothing of this was done: upon which the Deponent went over, without Commiſſion from any body, to *Holland*, never meeting with *James Stuart* above-named: He was introduced to the Earl of *Argile*, with whom he had never before convers'd and did there diſcourſe what had paſt betwixt Mr. *Shepard* and him; and particularly, about remitting of Money to the ſaid Earl from *England*; of which, the ſaid Mr. *Stuart* had written to the Deponent, namely of 30000 pounds *Sterling*; and of the raiſing of 1000 Horſe and Dragoons; and the ſecuring the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, as a matter of the greateſt importance: The method of doing this was propos'd by the Deponent, to be one hour, or thereby, after the relieving of the Guards: But the Earl did not reliſh this propoſition, as dangerous; and that the Caſtles would fall of conſequence, after the work abroad was done. *James Stuart* was of the Deponents Opinion, for ſeizing the Caſtle; becauſe it would ſecure *Edinburgh*, the Magazines and Arms. As to the 1000 Horſe and Dragoons, my Lord *Argile* was of Opinion, that without them nothing was to be done; and that if that number was raiſs'd in *England* to the ſaid Earl, he would come into *Scotland* with them; and that there being ſo few Horſe and Dragoons to meet them, he judg'd he might get the Country without trouble, having ſuch a ſtanding Body for their Friends to Rendezvouz to; and the ſaid Earl ſaid he could ſhew the Deponent the convenient places for Landing, if he underſtood, and as the Deponent remembers, where the Ships could attend. The Deponent remembers not the Names of the Places. The Deponent ſpoke to the Lord *Stairs*, but cannot be poſitive that he nam'd the Affair to him, but found him ſhie: but the Earl of *Argile* told him, he thought *Stairs* might be gain'd to them: And that the Earl of *Lowdoun* being a man of good Reaſon and diſoblig'd, would have great influence upon the Country, and recommended the Deponent to

Major

Major *Holms*, with whom the Deponent had ſome acquaintance before, and had brought over a Letter from him to the Earl of *Argile*; but the Deponent had not then communicate any thing to the ſaid *Holms*. *James Stuart* laid down a way of correſpondence by Cyphers and falſe Names, and ſent them over to *Holms*, and the Deponent, for their uſe (which Cyphers and Names are now in the hands of His Majeſty's Officers, as the Deponent ſuppoſes,) and did deſire the Deponent earneſtly to propoſe the 30000 pound *Sterling* above-named to the Party in *England*, and did not propoſe any leſs; for as the Earl told the Deponent, he had particularly calculate the Expence for Arms, Ammunition, *&c.* But *James Stuart* ſaid, that if ſome leſs could be had, the Earl would content himſelf, if better might not be, but the Earl always ſaid that there was nothing to be done without the body of Horſe and Dragoons above-mentioned; During the time of the Deponent his abode in *Holland* tho he had ſeveral Letters from *Shepard*, yet there was no ſatisfactory account, till ſome time after the Deponent parted from the Earl of *Argile*, and was making for a Ship at *Rotterdam* to tranſport himſelf to *England*. *James Stuart* wrote to him that there was hopes of the Money. The next day after the Deponent came to *England*, he met with Sir *John Cochran*, who with Commiſſar *Monro*, and *Jerviſwood*, was at *London* before he came over; and depones, That he knows not the account of their coming, more than for the perfecting the Tranſaction about *Carolina*: and having acquainted Sir *John Cochran* with the Earls demands of the 30000 pound *Sterling*, and the 1000 Horſe and Dragoons, Sir *John* carried him to the Lord *Ruſſel*, to whom the Deponent propoſed the Affair, but being an abſolute Stranger to the Deponent, had no return from him at that time; but afterwards having met him accidenly at Mr. *Shepards* houſe, where the Lord *Ruſſel* had come to ſpeak to *Shepard* about the Money above-named, as Mr. *Shepard* told the Deponent. The Deponent (when they were done ſpeaking) deſired to ſpeak to the Lord *Ruſſel*, which the Lord *Ruſſel* did, and having reiterate the former Propoſition for the 30000 pound *Sterling*, and the 1000 Horſe and Dragoons, he the Lord *Ruſſel* told the Deponent, they could not get ſo much raiſed at the time, but if they had 10000 pound to begin, that would draw People in, and when they were once in, they would ſoon be brought to more; but as for the 1000 Horſe and Dragoons, he could ſay nothing at the preſent, for that behoved to be concerted upon the Borders. The Deponent made the ſame propoſal to Mr. *Ferguſon*, who was much concerned in the Affair, and zealous for the promoting of it. This Mr. *Ferguſon* had in *October* or *November* before, as the Deponent remembers in a Converſation with the Deponent in *Cheap-ſide*, or the Street ſomewhere thereabout, ſaid, that for the ſaving of Innocent Blood, it would be neceſſary to cut off a few, inſinuating the King and Duke, but cannot be poſitive whether he named them or not; To which the Deponent ſaid, that's work for our wild People in *Scotland*, my Conſcience does not ſerve me for ſuch things; after which the Deponent had never any particular diſcourſe with *Ferguſon* as to that matter; but as to the other Affair, *Ferguſon* told the Deponent that he was doing what he could to get it effectuate; as particularly that he ſpoke to one Major *Wildman*

who is not of the Deponent his acquaintance. *Ferguſon* blamed always *Sidney*, as driving deſigns of his own. The Deponent met twice or thrice with the Lord *Melvil*, Sir *John Cochran*, *Jerviſwood*, Commiſſar *Monro*, the two *Ceſſnocks*, *Montgomery* of *Langſhaw*, and one Mr. *Veatch*, where they diſcourſed of Money to be ſent to *Argile*, in order to the carrying on the Affair; and tho he cannot be poſitive the Affair was named, yet it was underſtood by himſelf, and as he conceives by all preſent, to be for riſing in Arms, for rectifying the Government. Commiſſar *Monro*, Lord *Melvil*, and the two *Ceſſnocks* were againſt medling with the *Engliſh*, becauſe they judged them men that would talk, and would not do, but were more inclined to do ſomething by themſelves, if it could be done. The Lord *Melvil* thought every thing hazardous, and therefore the Deponent cannot ſay he was poſitive in any thing, but was moſt inclined to have the Duke of *Monmouth* to head them in *Scotland*, of which no particular method was laid down. *Jerviſwood*, the Deponent, and Mr. *Veatch*, were for taking the Money; at one of theſe Meetings it was reſolved, that Mr. *Martin*, late Clerk of the Juſtice Court, ſhould be ſent to *Scotland*, to deſire their Friends to hinder the Country from Riſing or taking raſh Reſolutions upon the account of the Council, till they ſhould ſee how matters went in *England*. The ſaid *Martin* did go at the Charges of the Gentlemen of the Meeting, and was directed to the Laird of *Polwart* and *Torwoodlie*, who ſent back word, that it would not be found ſo eaſie a matter to get the Gentry of *Scotland* to concur: But afterwards in a Letter to Commiſſar *Monro*, *Polwart* wrote that the Country was readier to concur then they had imagined, or ſomething to that purpoſe. The Deponent, as above-ſaid, having brought over a Key from *Holland*, to ſerve himſelf and Major *Holms*, he remembers not that ever he had an exact Copy of it, but that ſometimes the one, ſometimes the other keeped it, and ſo it chanced to be in his Cuſtody when a Letter from the Earl of *Argile* came to Major *Holms*, intimating, that the would joyn with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and follow his Meaſures, or obey his Directions: this Mr. *Veatch* thought fit to communicate to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and for the Underſtanding of it was brought to the Deponent, and he gave the Key to Mr. *Veatch*, who as the Deponent was inform'd, was to give it and the Letter to Mr, *Ferguſon*, and he to ſhew it to the Duke of *Monmouth*; but what was done in it the Deponent knows not. The Deponent heard the Deſign of killing the King and Duke, from Mr. *Shepard*, who told the Deponent ſome were full upon it. The Deponent heard that *Aaron Smith* was ſent by thoſe in *England* to call Sir *John Cochran*, on the account of *Carolina*, but that he does not know *Aaron Smith*, nor any more of that Matter, not being concern'd in it. *Shepard* nam'd young *Hambden* frequently as concern'd in theſe Matters.

Sign'd at Edingburgh *Caſtle, the* 8th. *of* September, 1684. *and renewed the* 18th. *of the ſame Month.*

William Carſtares.

PERTH. CANCELL. I.P.D.
Edinburgh

Edinburgh *Caſtle* September 18. 1684.

MR. *William Carſtares* being again examin'd, adheres to his former Depoſition, in all the parts of it, and Depones he knows of no Correſpondence betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, except by *Martin* before-nam'd: For thoſe Gentlemen to whom he was ſent, were left to follow their own Methods. *Veatch*, as the Deponent remembers, ſtayed ſometimes at *Nicholſon*, Stabler's Houſe at *London-Wall*; ſometimes with one Widow *Hardcaſtle* in *Moreſields*. The Deponent did Communicate the Deſign on Foot to Doctor *Owen*, Mr. *Griffil*, and Mr. *Meed* at *Stepney*, who all concurred in the promoting of it, and were deſirous it ſhould take effect; and to one Mr. *Freth* in the Temple, Councellor at Law, who ſaid he would ſee what he could do in reference to the Money, but there having gone a Report, that there was no Money to be rais'd, he did nothing in it, nor does the Deponent think him any more concern'd in the Affair, *Nelthrop* frequently ſpoke to the Deponent of the Money to be ſent to *Argile*, whether it was got or not, but the Deponent uſed no freedom with him in the Affair. *Goodenough* did inſinuate once, that the Lords were not inclin'd to the thing, and that before they would ſee what they could do in the City. The Deponent ſaw Mr. *Ferguſon*, and Mr. *Rumſay*, lurking after the Plot broke out, before the Proclamation, having gone to *Ferguſon*, in the back of *Biſhop-gate-ſtreet*, at ſome new Building, whether he was directed by *Jerviſwood*, who was deſirous to know how things went, *Rumſay* was not of the Deponent his Acquaintance before, but they knew as little of the matter as the Deponent. This is what the Deponent remembers, and if any thing come to his Memory, he is to deliver it in betwixt, and the firſt of *October*: And this is the truth, as he ſhall Anſwer to God.

William Carſtares.

PERTH CANCELL. *I. P. D.*

At Edinburgh, *the* 22*d. of* December, 1684.

THeſe fore-going Pages, ſubſcrib'd by Mr. *William Carſtares* Deponent, and by the Lord Chancellor, where acknowledged on Oath by the ſaid Mr. *William Carſtares*, to be his true Depoſitions, and that the Subſcriptions were his, in preſence of us Underſcribers.

William Carſtares.

PERTH CANCELLARIUS.

David Falconer.
George Mekenzie.

QUENSBERRY.
ATHOL.

An

Copy of the Lord Ruſſel's *Examination in the* Tower.

My Lord Ruſſel *Asked,*

WHether he knows of any Conſultations tending towards an Inſurrection, or to ſurprize His Majeſties Guards at any time, and by any perſons, and by whom?

Whether he hath ever been at Mr. *Shepards* Houſe, and how often, and when laſt?

Whether any Lords were in company, and who?

Whether at any time the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Ferguſon*, or any of them were there, and how many, and which of them?

Whether there was any diſcourſe concerning a Riſing in the Weſt, or any parts of the Weſt, or at *Taunton*, and what the Diſcourſe was, and by whom?

Whether there was any diſcourſe concerning the ſurprizing the Kings Guards at any time?

Whether the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* did undertake to view the Guards to ſee if it might be done, and in what poſture they were?

Whether they gave any account that they had viewed the Guards, and how they found them?

What did Mr. *Ferguſon* ſay at any of thoſe Meetings, and by whom was he directed?

Whether he knows of any Deſign for a Riſing in *Scotland*? Whether he hath been at any Conſultations for that end, with any perſons, Scotchmen or others, and with whom? What Monies the Scotch demanded at firſt, and whether they did not conſent to take Ten thouſand pounds, and how was that or any part of that to be raiſed, and by whom?

My Lord Ruſſel's *Anſwer to the preceding Interrogatories.*

MY Lord knows of no Conſultation tending to any Inſurrection.

His Lordſhip knows nothing of any Conſultation or Deſign to ſurprize his Majeſties Guards at any time.

His Lordſhip doth acknowledge to have been frequently at Mr. *Shepard's* Houſe. *divers times*

His Lordſhip cannot preciſely ſet down the time that he was there laſt.

To the two Articles relating to the Lords that were in company at Mr. *Shepards*, his Lordſhip anſwers that he went thither with the Duke of *Monmouth*; but as to the reſt of the perſons then preſent, his Lordſhip conceives that he ought not to anſwer, becauſe there were ill Conſtructions made of that Meeting, nor cannot poſitively remember.

His Lordſhip anſwers,

There was no diſcourſe as he remembers concerning any Riſing in the Weſt, or any parts of the Weſt, or at *Taunton*, nor particularly of Mr.

John Trenchards Undertaking, nor any diſcourſe about Mr. *John Trenchard* as he remembers.

His Lordſhip anſwers there was no Diſcourſe at Mr. *Shepards* about ſurprizing the Guards, nor of the Duke of *Monmouth's*, my Lord *Grey's*, nor of Sir *Thomas Armſtrong's* Undertaking to view the Guards; nor was there any account there given by the ſaid perſons of their having viewed the Guards, nor how they found them.

Nor was there any ſuch Undertaking elſewhere to his knowledge.

To the queſtion what Mr. *Ferguſon* did ſay at any of thoſe Meetings, his Lordſhip anſwers that he cannot tell what Mr. *Ferguſon* did ſay there, nor doth he own that Mr. *Ferguſon* was there.

His Lordſhip knows of no Deſign for a Riſing in *Scotland*, nor knows any thing of the whole Article relating to *Scotland*, nor any part of it.

His Lordſhip hath heard general diſcourſes of many diſtreſſed people, Miniſters and others of the Scottiſh Nation that were fled and that it were great Charity to relieve them.

This Examination was taken the 28th day of *June*, 1683.
before Us

L. Jenkins,
J. Ernle,
R. Sawyer,
H. Finch.

Notes

Notes of ſome things Confeſſed before His Majeſty and the Council, taken out of the Books of Minutes.

John Rouſe confeſt that Money was Collected in the City at the intimation or deſire of ſome Parliament Men, for the Kings Evidence, that receiving that Money for that purpoſe from ſome of them he ſent it to thoſe Perſons for whom it was deſign'd.

Bourn Confeſſes, That Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* uſed to come every day to *Ferguſon* when he lay at his Houſe, that he has ſeen him ſince the diſcovery when *Armſtrong* urged him to get ſome friends together to make a puſh and that it was better to dye with Swords in their hands.

Walcot Confeſſes, That *Aaron Smith* was ſent into *Scotland* by thoſe Gentlemen that tranſacted the matter.

Bourn ſays, That *Ferguſon* Lodged at his Fathers Houſe a Month or ſix Weeks, That he left no Papers in his Houſe and uſed to ſay he would never be hanged for Papers.

Shepard ſays, *Bayly* told him *Charlton* had undertaken to raiſe the whole 10000 *l.*

Romzey ſays, The Lord *Ruſſel* was about going away from *Shepard's* when he arrived there, and that his Lordſhip ſaid *Trenchard* was a Coward, and that he would go down himſelf and begin the Riſing.

Charlton confeſſes, He had paid *Oates* 80 *l. per* quarter for his ſubſiſtance of which he had but 10. *l.* of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and was himſelf the reſt out of Purſe but that he was told a Parliament would reimburſe him.

Shepard ſays, That *Ferguſon* and *Bayly* told him that *Charlton* would procure the 10900 *l.* himſelf, and raiſe it upon a Mortgage.

Charlton further ſays, He paid *Oates* about 400 *l.* in all.

The Information of John Rouſe *taken at his deſire in* Newgate *the* 19*th of* July, 1683.

THe Informant ſaith, That the deſign of the Rebellion and ſeizing the King was begun by the Earl of *Shaftsbury* at his Houſe in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, before the meeting of the Parliament at *Oxford*, where the Duke of *Monmouth*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Lord *Ruſſel*, Lord *Grey*, Major *Manly* a Brewer at *Whitechappel*, and others whom he ſaw there and as he was told likewiſe by his Servants, frequently met there; the foundation of all the Scurrilous Libels was laid, particularly that of the *Raree-ſhew*.

That all thoſe Clubs at *Mile-end-green*, the *Sun* behind the *Exchange*, at *Ruſſel*'s in *Iron-Monger-lane*, and at the *Salutation* in *Lumbard-ſtreet*, were to carry on that Deſign, he cannot recollect all names, but declares that he knows all thoſe of Note that were at thoſe Clubs were thoroughly acquainted with the Deſign. Theſe Clubs were divided into three Factions, by reaſon of which diviſion the Informant ſaith the Deſign went on ſo ſlow as it did, and at laſt it fell between the Duke of *Monmouth*, and a Common-wealth; and the greater number carried it for the Duke of *Monmouth*, becauſe it was found upon his going into the Weſt, *Chicheſter* and *Cheſhire*, the vogue of the people went for him. Thoſe that were for a Common-wealth were abſolutely reſolved to have nothing to do with the Race of the *Stuart's*; but they pitcht upon *Richard Cromwel*, whom this Informant knows to be in *England*. The longeſt day that was appointed for execution of this was at *Midſummer-day* laſt, when the people ſhould be at *Guild-hall* choſing Sheriffs.

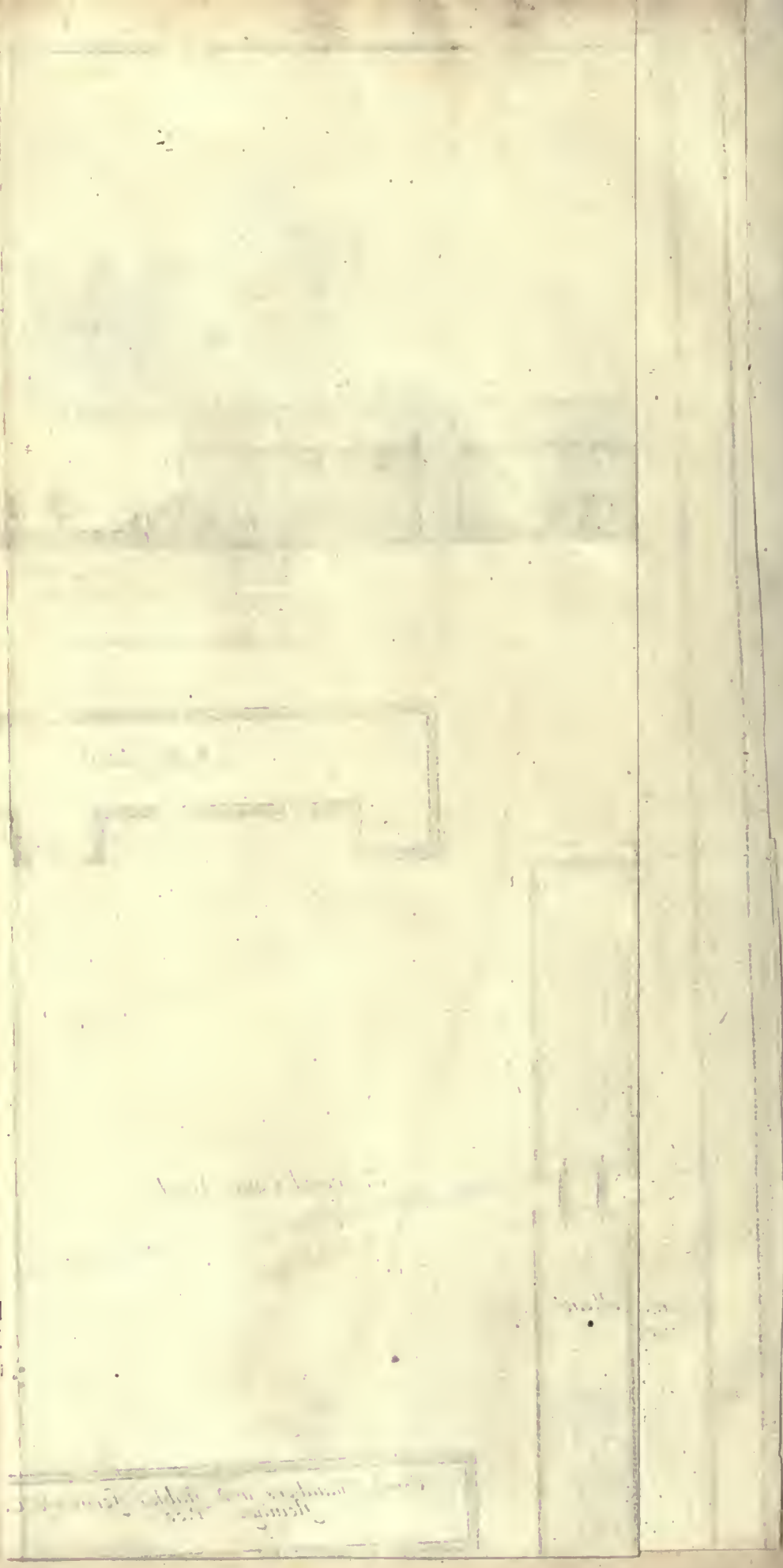
Five hundred Horſe were promiſed to be ſent in from the Country, who were to ſeize the Guards.

The pretence of the Conſpirators was to ſecure His Majeſty from being killed by the Papiſts, that if he would not comply with His Parliament at *Oxford*, then to ſet up the Duke of *Monmouth*. That this was long deſign'd likewiſe before the meeting at *Oxford*.

The Informant ſaith, That it was reſolved by the Conſpirators, that when they ſhould have accompliſht their Deſign, and that the Tower and City of *London* was ſeized, then they were to go to *Whitehal* and demand their Priviledges, and Freedoms, with their Swords in their hands.

He hath been preſent at many of theſe Clubs where theſe Deſigns have been conſulted of, and all the perſons of any note, Commons as well as Lords were conſenting to the Conſpiracy; he ſaith he can prove it by many Witneſſes.

He ſaith my Lord *Shaftsbury* and *Oates* were the Principal movers in all this buſineſs.



A particular Account of the Situation of the Rye-Houſe.

THe *Rye-Houſe* in *Hartfordſhire*, about eighteen Miles from *London*, is ſo called from the *Rye* a Meadow near it. Juſt under it there is a By-road from *Biſhops-Strafford* to *Hoddeſden*, which was conſtantly uſed by the King when he went to or from *Newmarket*; the great Road winding much about on the Right-hand by *Stanſted*. The Houſe is an Old Strong Building and ſtands alone, encompaſs'd with a Mote, and towards the Garden has high Walls, ſo that Twenty Men might eaſily defend it for ſome time againſt Five hundred. From a high Tower in the Houſe all that go or come may be ſeen both ways for near a Mile diſtance. As you come from *Newmarket* towards *London*, when you are near the Houſe, you paſs the Meadow over a narrow Cauſ-way, at the end of which is a Toll-gate, which having Entred you go through a Yard, and a little Field, and at the end of that through another Gate, you paſs into a narrow Lane, where two Coaches at that time could not go a-breaſt. This narrow Paſſage had on the Left hand a thick Hedge and a Ditch, on the Right a long Range of Building uſed for Corn-Chambers and Stables with ſeveral Doors and Windows looking into the Road, and before it a Pale, which then made the Paſſage ſo narrow, but is ſince removed. When you are paſt this long Building, you go by the Mote, and the Garden Wall, that is very Strong, and has divers Holes in it, through which a great many Men might ſhoot. Along by the Mote and Wall the Road continues to the *Ware-River* which runs about Twenty or Thirty yards from the Mote, and is to be paſt by a Bridge. A ſmall diſtance from thence another Bridge is to be paſt over the *New-River*. In both which Paſſes a few Men may oppoſe great Numbers. In the outer Court-yard, which is behind the long Building, a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot might be drawn up unperceived from the Road; whence they might eaſily iſſue out at the ſame time into each end of the narrow Lane, which was alſo to be ſtopt up by overturning a Cart.'

Notes of what pass'd between the Late KING, His Royal Highness the Duke of YORK, and the Duke of MONMOUTH, at the Time of his first Rendring himself.

Taken in Writing at that Time by his Royal Highness.

November the 25th. 1683.

YEsterday the Duke of *Monmouth* came and Surrendred himself to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, and desired to Speak alone with the *KING* and *DUKE*, which was Granted him. He first Threw himself at His *MAJESTIES* Feet, acknowledging his Guilt, and the Share he had in the Conspiracy, and asked His Pardon, then Confest himself Faulty to the *DUKE*, asked his Pardon also, assured him if he should survive His *MAJESTY*, that he would Pay him all the Duty that became a Loyal Subject, and be the First should Draw his Sword for him, should there be Occasion. He then Desired His *MAJESTY* would not Oblige him to be a Witness, and then gave an Account of the Whole Conspiracy, naming all Those Concerned in it, which were more than Those had already been Mentioned by the several Witnesses. He denyed any Knowledge of the Assassination. When he had made an end of his Confession, His *MAJESTY* Ordered him to be put into the Custody of a Serjeant at Arms. This day Admitted him to His Presence, and Ordered a Stop to be put to the Outlawry, and Promis'd him his Pardon. He further added, That Dr. *Owen*, *Mead*, *Griffin*, and all the Considerable Nonconformists Ministers knew of the Conspiracy.

The

The Duke of Monmouth's *First Letter to the* KING, *mentioned,* P. 151 *of the foregoing Account.*

IF I could have Writ to Your *MAJESTY* sooner, with any Safety to my Self, I would have done it, to have told you, That there is nothing under Heaven has Struck Me so to the Heart, as to be Put into a Proclamation for an Intention of Murdring of You, *SIR*, and the *DUKE*. I do Call God Almighty to Witness, and I Wish I may Die this Moment I am Writing if ever it Entred into my Head, or ever said the least Thing to any Body that could make them think I could wish such a Thing; I am sure there cannot be such Villains upon Earth to say I ever did. But I am so Innocent to this Point, that I will say no more of it, for I know God Almighty is Just, and I do not doubt but he will put it into Your Heart that I am Clear of this Most Horrid and Base Accusation. But, *SIR*, the Chief Intent of this Letter is to Beg Pardon both of You, *SIR*, and the *DUKE*, for the many Things I have done that have made You both Angry with Me: But more especially of the *DUKE*, though I might have some Justification for my Self that many People made Me believe he Intended to Destroy Me; for to You, *SIR*, I do Protest before God Almighty, and I Wish I may never Prosper more, that all I have done was only to Save You, as I shall Convince Your *MAJESTY*, if ever I am so Happy as to Speak to You, and I Hope You will let Me do it, before it be long, for I have that to say to You, *SIR*, that will for ever I Hope Settle You Quiet in Your Kingdom, and the *DUKE* after You, whom I Intend to Serve to the Uttermost of my Power, and, *SIR*, to Convince him that I will do so, if Your *MAJESTY* will Give Me Your Pardon, I will Deliver my Self up into his Hands, that the *DUKE* may bring Me to You; besides, *SIR*, I should be Glad to have him by when I Speak to You, but no Body else, and by this Kindness of the *DUKES*, if

ever

ever I ſhould do any Thing afterwards againſt Him, I muſt be thought the Ungratefulleſt Man Living. What Good can it do You, *SIR*, to take Your Own Childs Life away that only Erred and Ventured his Life to Save Yours? And beſides, *SIR*, I am Sure I can be Serviceable to You, and if I may Say ſo, make the Reſt of Your Life Happy, or at leaſt Contribute a great Deal towards it. You may believe Me, *SIR*, for I do not tell You this out of Fear, but becauſe I do Think my Self ſure of it. I do Beg of You, *SIR*, if You have any Thoughts of Mercy of Me, that You will let Me know it ſoon, for the ſooner I Speak to You the better. And now, *SIR*, I do Swear to You, that from this Time, I never will Diſpleaſe You in any Thing, but the whole Study of my Life ſhall be to ſhew how truly Penitent I am for having done it, and how Well I will Deſerve the Life You give Me. And for the *DUKE* that he may have a more Firm Confidence of the Service I intend to do Him, I do here Declare to Your *MAJESTY*, that I will never ask to ſee Your Face more, if ever I do any Thing againſt Him, which is the greateſt Curſe I can lay upon my Self,

Monmouth.

The Duke of Monmouth's *Second Letter to the* KING *mentioned* P. 152 *of the foregoing Account.*

YOU must allow Me, *SIR*, still to Importune You not without Hopes of Prevailing at last upon Your Generosity, so as it may get the better of Your Anger to Me. I am half Distracted, *SIR*, with the Thoughts of having Offended You; and the Torment it gives Me is perhaps greater than Your forgiving Nature would know how to inflict upon the most Criminal Offenders: The Character I lie under is too heavy for Me to bear; even Death it self would be a Relief to Me, could I have it without the Aggravation of leaving the World under Your Displeasure: I must therefore throw my self upon Your Compassion, which being a Virtue so agreeable to Your Nature, I hope Your Child, *SIR*, will not be an unfortunate Instance of Your denying it, when 'tis Implored. I confess, *SIR*, I have been in Fault, Mislead, and Insensibly Engaged in Things of which the Consequence was not enough Understood by Me: Yet I can say I never had a Criminal Thought towards Your *MAJESTY*, not pretending by that to Insist upon an Absolute Justification of my Self. Your *MAJESTY* will Consider, that whilst I was Under the Apprehensions of great Anger and Violence against Me, it might easily Corrupt my Judgment, and by seeing Things in a wrong Light, Betray Me into very Fatal Mistakes: But now that I have had Time to Recollect my Self, every thing like a Fault towards Your *MAJESTY* appeareth to Me in such a Reproaching Terrifying Shape, that I have a Remorse for it, which could it be seen, I assure my Self it would Move Your Compassion to Me. I Humbly beg, *SIR*, to be Admitted to Your Feet, and to be Disposed of as You Direct, not only now, but for the Remainder of my Life: And though my Resignation is too full to admit any Reserve, Your *MAJESTY* will permit me to offer to You, Whether You will let pass any thing as a Penalty upon Me, which may lay a Stain upon my Innocent Children? Whe-

ther You will make Me Undergo the Ignominy of a Tryal, before You give Me Your Pardon? And of what Uſe or Satisfaction can it be to You to Forgive Me, and yet give Me the Cruel Puniſhment of hearing my Self Arraigned for Treaſon againſt ſuch a KING, and ſuch a FATHER? And whether my being carried to the *Tower* in caſe You be pleaſed to Excuſe my Tryal, can have any Effect but an unneceſſary Mortification of One, who God knoweth is already enough Afflicted, and ſome kind of Blemiſh too, to my Family, as well as an uſeleſs Limitation of Your *MAJESTIES* Mercy? *SIR*, I lay theſe Things before You in the moſt Submitting Manner that is Poſſible, with an Entire Reſignation to what You ſhall Determine. Neither do I Imagine to Receive Your Pardon any otherwiſe than by the Interceſſion of the *DUKE*, whom I Acknowledge to have Offended, and am Prepared to Submit my Self in the Humbleſt Manner; and therefore beg Your *MAJESTY* would Direct how I am to Apply my Self to Him; and I ſhall do it, not as an Outward Form, but with all the Sincerity in the World. If what I have ſaid can Move You to Forget my paſt Faults, it will be a Grace I ſhall Endeavour to Deſerve by all the Actions of my Life: And I am ſo ſenſible how Ill a Guide my Own Will hath been to Me, that I am Reſolved for the Future to put it Entirely into Your *MAJESTIES* Hands, that I may by that Means never Commit a Fault but for want of Your Directions or Your Commands. Dear, *SIR*, be pleaſed to Revive by a kind Anſwer the moſt Miſerable Diſconſolate Creature now Living,

Monmouth.

The

The Copy of a Letter to the KING, Signed by the Duke of Monmouth, *mentioned* P. 155 *of the foregoing Account.*

I Have heard of ſome Reports of Me, as if I ſhould have Leſſen'd the Late Plot, and gone about to Diſcredit the Evidence given againſt Thoſe, who have Died by Juſtice. Your *MAJESTY* and the *DUKE* know how Ingenuouſly I have Own'd the Late Conſpiracy; and though I was not Conſcious of any Deſign againſt Your *MAJESTIES LIFE*, yet I Lament the having had ſo Great a Share in the other Part of the ſaid Conſpiracy. *SIR*, I have taken the Liberty to put this in Writing for my Own Vindication, and I beſeech You to Look Forward, and Endeavour to Forget the Faults You have Forgiven Me: I will take Care never to Commit any more againſt You, or come within the Danger of being again Miſlead from my Duty, but make it the Buſineſs of my Life to Deſerve the Pardon Your *MAJESTY* hath granted to Your Dutiful

Monmouth.

FINIS.

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